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THE LAST JUDGEMENT SCENE
IN CENTRAL ITALIAN PAINTING, C.1266-1343:
THE IMPACT OF GUELF POLITICS, PAPAL POWER
AND ANGEVIN ICONOGRAPHY

by

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requirements for the degree of
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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

GFF = Florence, Gabinetto Fotografico
 GFN = Rome, Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale
 LFSN = Laboratorio Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni
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ABSTRACT

The dissertation recontextualizes the iconographical developments of the Last Judgement scene in Central Italian mural painting in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by exploring the theological and political contexts in which these scenes were produced. Two striking events mark the evolution of the Late Medieval Last Judgement scene: first, the revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement after a period of contraction, and second, the separation of Heaven and Hell from the Last Judgement. Both of these features reflect an increasing anxiety about the fate of the soul in the afterlife: a fate which, by the end of the thirteenth century, had moved from the end of time itself to the moment of an individual's death.

The first chapter concerns Pietro Cavallini's fresco in S.Cecilia in Trastevere (c.1293), its place within the Roman tradition of Last Judgement scene, and its role as the earliest surviving monumental example of the 'complete' Last Judgement. Chapter II concerns the frescoes of S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples (c.1317-23), patronized by the Angevin queen, Maria of Hungary. In 1266 the Papacy conferred on Charles I of Anjou the Kingdom of Naples in exchange for defense of the Papal States, and the Angevins became the chief administrators of civil and penal justice throughout the Papal States and independent Guelf city-states. A discussion of Angevin iconography establishes a connection between Angevin self-image and the Last Judgement scene.

Chapter III is devoted to Giotto's Last Judgement at the Arena Chapel in Padua (c.1305) and its imitator at S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (c.1320). The chapter includes a discussion of thirteenth-century papal decrees concerning the fate of the soul in the afterlife, the appearance of the penitent patron at the foot of the cross, and the possibility of a Papal-Angevin-Guelf influence on the production of both of these frescoes. Chapter IV on the "Angevin Connection" begins with a reinterpretation of the iconography of the Florence Baptistery mosaics (c.1271-1330) in terms of their patronage by the Church and the exclusively Guelf Guild of the Calimala. The first instance of the separation of Paradise and Inferno from the Last Judgement, in the Magdalen Chapel of the Bargello in Florence (c.1322), is discussed in light of the civic function of the chapel and of Angevin control of the office of *podestà*. The relief panels of the façade of Orvieto Cathedral (c.1290-1330) are also considered in view of Papal and Angevin domination of that city. In Chapter V the influence of the Magdalen Chapel's separation of Heaven and Hell is linked to the increasing secularization of the Last Judgement scene as evidenced in the Campo Santo, Pisa (c.1330) and the nave of S.Croce, Florence (c.1330).

The revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene in Late Medieval Central Italy was the result of theological changes concerning the afterlife, the rise of the penitential movement, and the formation of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance for whom the triumphant scene of judgement became emblematic. The individual's anxiety about the fate of his soul at the moment of death and the appropriation of the Last Judgement for use in secular contexts affected the separation of Heaven and Hell from the Last Judgement and brought about the secularization of a traditionally sacred scene.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of my doctoral research, the Italian Last Judgement scene, grew out of my interest in eschatological imagery.¹ I set out to explore the social, political and theological influences on the iconographical changes in the Last Judgement scene at the end of the thirteenth century in Lazio and Tuscany. My adviser at the University of Warwick, Professor Julian Gardner, suggested I also look at S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples, whose patron was Maria of Hungary, wife of the Angevin king of Naples and Sicily. It was when I began to learn of the intricate role of the Angevin monarchs in Italy that a common thread appeared throughout my work. Nearly all the Last Judgement scenes produced in Central Italy in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are to be found in Guelf cities, the majority dating from the reign of Robert of Anjou (1309-1343), several of which have direct Angevin connections. Other factors also contributed to changes in the appearance of the Last Judgement scene, like the dissemination of papal decrees on the fate of the soul and the rise of the Franciscan movement, but it is the effect of the influx of French popes and cardinals, and especially the political domination of Italy by the Angevins that, I will argue, brings about a wide-spread revival of the Last Judgement scene in Central Italy. In this introductory chapter I

¹ My MA thesis, University of Victoria, Canada, 1991, is entitled, *Infernal Topography: the Evolution of Hell Imagery in the Middle Ages*.

will present an historical overview of events related to the revival of the Last Judgement scene in order to introduce the context in which the scenes were produced. Then I will describe the Medieval development of the iconography of the Last Judgement scene. To complete the introduction, I will outline the contents of each chapter. Discussions of the relevant literature are scattered throughout the introduction.

In the first half of the thirteenth century Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1194-1250), Holy Roman Emperor from 1220, ruled both the imperial lands to the north of Italy and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily to the south of the Papal States. Frederick's goal was to unite the peninsula under the imperial crown, thereby threatening invasion of the Papal States and the independent city-states of Central Italy. Shortly after Frederick's death, beginning c.1254, the papacy began negotiations to replace the rulers of Sicily with a dynasty compatible with papal politics. Charles, count of Anjou and Provence, brother of Louis IX of France (1226-1270), was offered the kingdom in 1263 by the French pope, Urban IV (1261-1264).² Charles, for his part, agreed to expel the Hohenstaufen from Italy, to serve the interests of the papacy, and to protect the Papal States against imperial threat. After accepting

² For the early Angevin history in Italy, see E. JORDAN, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie* (Paris, 1909); A. DE RINALDIS, *Naples angevine* (Paris, 1927); É. LÉONARD, *Les angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954); S. RUNCIMAN, *The Sicilian Vespers: a History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958); C. DE FREDE, "Da Carlo I d'Angiò a Giovanna I, 1263-1382," in *Storia di Napoli* (Naples, 1969-1978), III, 5-82. For the reign of Charles I see J. DUNBABIN, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (London, 1998). For the Angevin archives see, G. FILANGIERI, *Documenti per la storia le arti e le industrie delle province napoletane*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1883-1891); R. FILANGIERI, ed., *I registri della cancelleria angioina*, 43 vols. (Naples, 1950-1996).

the senatorship of Rome in 1263 and defeating the imperial forces led by Frederick's son, Manfred, in 1266, Charles I (1266-1285) was crowned King of Naples and Sicily by another French pope, Clement IV (1265-68).³ Charles immediately set out to establish a network of representatives throughout Italy to bolster the pro-papal Guelf party and to combat the advances of the pro-imperial Ghibelline party.⁴ Charles himself held the offices of *podestà* of Florence and senator of Rome for more than a decade, both of which gave him power over the administration of justice in those cities.⁵ He built and strengthened his kingdom through strong trade and banking links with Tuscany, particularly with Florence. This arrangement continued under the reign of his son, Charles II (1289-1309), and was consolidated by his grandson, Robert I (1309-1343).⁶ Between 1266 and 1343, therefore, the Angevins controlled trade and were the chief administrators of civil and penal justice throughout most areas of the Papal States and the independent Guelf territories. This arrangement between the popes, the Angevin monarchs, and the Guelf party I refer to as the Papal-Angevin-

³ For these events see JORDAN, 370-409; LÉONARD, 37-41; N. HOUSLEY, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982), 15-19; E. DUPRÈ THESEIDER, *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla Signoria Pontificia (1252-1377)* (Bologna, 1952), 86-135. For the contract between Urban IV and Charles I see JORDAN, 420-454.

⁴ M.T. CACIORGNA, "L'influenza angioina in Italia: gli ufficiali nominati a Roma e nel Lazio," *MEFRM* 107, 1 (1995) 173-206.

⁵ Charles was also Imperial vicar in Tuscany, a position which gave him the opportunity to expand his power base. LÉONARD, 98-100.

⁶ R. CAGGESE, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922-1930) I, 567-606; D. ABULAFIA, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265-1370," *The Economic History Review* s.2, 34, 3 (1981) 377-388.

Guelf alliance.⁷ It was a loose and shifting alliance of often-conflicting interests which nevertheless survived for three generations and lent political, religious and economic continuity and stability to the period. I hope to demonstrate in this study that the Last Judgement scene was emblematic of this alliance because it not only implied the tradition of sacral-kingship handed down from Charlemagne, but also represented the role of wise counsel and judgement played by the Angevin monarchs in their roles as *podestà*, *signore*, and *vicario* in the service of the papacy.

Surprisingly, for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries no study focusing on the Italian Last Judgement scene has been undertaken since that of Paeseler in 1938, whose attempt to date the Vatican panel n.526 made a major contribution towards our knowledge of the Late Medieval Roman tradition of the Last Judgement scene.⁸ Many subsequent discussions of Last Judgement scenes have been published only in connection with an individual artist's *oeuvre* and have tended to focus only on issues of style, dating and attribution. On Giotto's decoration of the Arena Chapel in Padua, to take the best-known example, there is a vast body of literature. With few exceptions, studies of his Last Judgement form only small parts of larger works on Giotto's career and offer no suggestion as to the context in which such a remarkable image

⁷ HOUSLEY refers to the Papal-Angevin alliance in connection with the Italian crusades. Since the service of the Guelf party to Angevin interests at the level of civic government in Tuscan cities is significant in the present context, I refer to a triple alliance.

⁸ W. PAESELER, "Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatikan. Ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes und in der römischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 2 (1938) 311-394.

was produced.⁹ The most recent discussions of Giotto's Last Judgement, such as the 1998 article by Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona in *The Art Bulletin*, critically re-examine the documentation and challenge perceived truths about Giotto's work at the Arena Chapel.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the development of the Last Judgement scene itself has been overlooked by scholars.¹¹

One notable exception is Jérôme Baschet's book, *Les justices de l'au-delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, in which the author devotes a chapter to the Italian Last Judgement scene and another two chapters to the Italian version of Hell, focusing in depth on the frescoes of the Campo Santo in Pisa. While we arrive at different conclusions regarding the Campo Santo fresco, Baschet's discussion of the *rupture* of Hell from the Last Judgement scene has, nevertheless, provided a point of departure for my present study.

The Last Judgement, an important eschatological theme, is central

⁹ Among the exceptions: I.G. SUPINO, *Giotto*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1920); the various articles, particularly by SCHLEGEL and SHORR, reprinted in J.H. STUBBLEBINE, *Giotto: the Arena Chapel Frescoes* (New York, 1969); R. SMITH, "Giotto: artistic realism, political realism," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978) 267-284; R.H. ROUGH, "Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Gaudenti and the Arena Chapel in Padua," *AB* 62 (1980) 24-35.

¹⁰ "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: the Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua," *AB* 80, 2 (1998) 274-291. A series of recent articles have reassessed current assumptions about Giotto, the Arena Chapel and its patron, Enrico Scrovegni. See Chapter III.

¹¹ R.SCHREINER, *Das Weltgerichtsfresko in Santa Maria Donnaregina zu Neapel: Materialien zur Weltgerichtsikonographie*, PhD dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich 1983, provides a list of all Last Judgement scenes known to the author, but unfortunately does little to place Donnaregina's Last Judgement within the wider context of the scene. I have not been able to access the Harvard dissertation of Stephan Wolohojian on S.Maria Donnaregina.

to Christian doctrine. The events of the Last Days are described in Matthew 24 and 25 and consist of three key elements: the *Adventus domini* (Matt.24:30-31; 25:31), the separation of the sheep from the goats (Matt.25:32-33), and the promise of recompense (Matt.25:34-46). The Judgement, which takes place at the end of time, is a crucial element in the Apocalyptic events described in the Book of Revelation (19:2,11,15; 20:12; 21:6-8). It is from these combined texts that the essential iconographic elements for the pictorialization of the Last Judgement scene derive.

The earliest surviving examples of the scene date from the sixth century, generally following the text of Matthew, and they often resemble Roman tribunal scenes.¹² The basic paradigm for the scene began to take shape in the ninth century when details from the text of Revelation, like the Apocalyptic beasts and Celestial Jerusalem, were introduced.¹³ By the mid-eleventh century the iconographic formula had fully matured¹⁴ and thereafter generally appears as follows: Christ, as Judge, is enthroned within a mandorla symbolizing his glory; he is flanked by apostles who assist in the judging; below Christ's mandorla is the *etimasia*, or empty throne awaiting the Second Coming; an altar

¹² For example, the 6th century Barberini terra cotta Last Judgement plaque in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection which depicts Christ, flanked by apostles, presiding over a tribunal. A chancel separates the council from the litigants. At Christ's feet are the objects of recompense: on his left a whip to punish the wicked, on his right two bags inscribed with the Chi Rho monogram.

¹³ For the early development of the Last Judgement scene the most comprehensive source is BEAT BRENK, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtbildes* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1966).

¹⁴ The fully mature formula first appeared about the mid-11th century in Byzantine manuscripts, for example, Paris, BN, ms.gr.74, f.51v.

normally takes the place of the *etimasia* in thirteenth century Italian paintings; Christ is usually surrounded by trumpeting angels who announce the General Resurrection of the dead; and the souls who emerge from the earth or the sea or who rise from their coffins are separated into ranks of the blessed and the damned; often St Peter or the Virgin welcomes the processions of the blessed to Paradise and demons lead the damned to a hell mouth, or cauldron, or flaming cave.¹⁵ This formula proliferated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in all media; often added to it were graphic details of the torments of the damned in Hell. In Italy c.1100 the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua, are representative of this mature Last Judgement iconography (I.9).

How common a theme the Last Judgement was in Italian art in the early twelfth century is unknown since few monumental examples survive. Curiously, there exists, nevertheless, an indication of a change in attitude towards the Last Judgement in those scenes that remain to us in Italy from about the mid-twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century: the Last Judgement appears in a condensed form without the separation of the blessed and the damned.¹⁶ S.Giovanni a Porta Latina (c.1191) and the S.Silvestro Chapel (1246), both in Rome, and S.Nicola at Filettino (c.1220-30), near Rome, are examples of this phenomenon (I.12, I.19, I.14).¹⁷ The return to the 'complete' Last Judgement scene in the

¹⁵ See, for example, the portal programs of the French cathedrals of Conques, Beaulieu, or Autun.

¹⁶ BASCHET 1993, 190-232, traces these developments.

¹⁷ The fresco in S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri, near Rome, dated c.1100, and the sculpture on the west portal of the Baptistry at Parma (c.1200) both include the Acts of Mercy in their Last Judgement scenes. At Ceri, among the fragmentary remains, there survives no

second half of the thirteenth century, that is, complete with scenes of the blessed in Heaven and the wicked in Hell, is an important aspect of the present study. In Central Italy the earliest surviving examples of this revival are found in the pulpits of Nicola Pisano and represent the development of an early Tuscan Last Judgement which is discussed in Chapter II. In monumental painting the revival of the complete Last Judgement is marked by Pietro Cavallini's fresco in S.Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome (1293), and so, it is with S.Cecilia that this dissertation begins.

The first chapter concerns Cavallini's fresco in S.Cecilia, its place within the Roman tradition of Last Judgement scenes, and its innovations. A portion of this chapter is devoted to a series of subsections on S.Cecilia's predecessors in order to establish the Roman tradition. This might have been a short chapter on its own but it seems to me to be such an integral part of the discussion on S.Cecilia that it has remained within this chapter. For the Roman tradition, the Paeseler article mentioned above is still fundamental for chronology and iconography, although his dating of the Vatican panel has been seriously disputed, and is rejected here. Matthiae's volume on thirteenth-century Roman painting, updated by Gandolfo, and several articles by Valentino Pace have also provided a very useful background to the study of the Last Judgement scene. Numerous articles from the proceedings of the conference, *Roma anno 1300*, also enhanced my

evidence for the separation of the blessed and damned; at Parma the separation is illustrated on the lintel but there are no scenes of Heaven and Hell.

perception of the state of affairs in Rome in this period.¹⁸ Throughout the dissertation my debt to the scholarship of Julian Gardner is clear. While I have only cited a few of Gardner's articles in this introduction, much of his work has stimulated new ideas and directions for my research on Cavallini and Giotto, French and Angevin patronage in Italy, and liturgical practice.

Cavallini's innovations herald important changes in Italian painting, not only in fresco technique and the handling of light and three-dimensional space, but also in the introduction of French Gothic elements into the iconography of the Last Judgement, and the revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene. At the risk of overemphasizing Cavallini's character, I have included a brief profile of the documentation referring to him as an artist and another regarding his activity at S.Paolo fuori le mura. The former is intended to update the documentary evidence published by Hetherington in 1979¹⁹ and the latter to explain Cavallini's technical innovations at S.Cecilia. Paul Hetherington's book has been a valuable source for Cavallini and S.Cecilia, as have been Matthiae's book, *Pietro Cavallini*, and John White's article on Cavallini at S.Paolo,²⁰ although none of these consider Cavallini's Last Judgement scene within the Roman tradition of the scene. Only Hetherington discusses Cavallini's role as an artist in late

¹⁸ MATTHIAE-GANDOLFO; V. PACE, "La chiesa abbaziale di Grottaferrata e la sua decorazione nel medioevo," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 41 (1987) 47-87; V. PACE, "Questioni arnolfiane: l'Antico e la Francia," *ZfKg* 54 (1991) 335-373.

¹⁹ P. HETHERINGTON, *Pietro Cavallini, a Study in the Art of Late Medieval Rome* (London, 1979).

²⁰ J. WHITE, "Cavallini and the lost frescoes in S.Paolo," *JWCI* 19 (1956) 84-95.

medieval Rome and, wrongly I believe, relegates him to the sidelines of papal and curial patronage. Especially useful have been two articles by A.M. Romanini and Serena Romano which bring archeological and documentary evidence to bear on the chronology and patronage of S.Cecilia in Trastevere.²¹

The section devoted to the patronage of S.Cecilia in Trastevere reconsiders the argument over the identification of the patron of the frescoes.²² Here I present biographies of Simon de Brion and Jean Cholet,²³ outlining their close professional relationship in order to establish a line of succession which accounts for the importation of French Gothic influences to S.Cecilia. The biographical information itself, however, presents a fascinating image of thirteenth-century cardinals as well-travelled men, well-educated in canon and civil law, who built their ecclesiastical careers as legal arbitrators for the Church. This is a factor which may have contributed to the choice of a Last Judgement

²¹ A.M. ROMANINI, "Il restauro di S.Cecilia a Roma e la storia della pittura architettonica in età gotica," in *Tre interventi di restauro: San Michele, Convento di San Francesco a Ripa, Santa Cecilia*, Congresso Internazionale di Studi "Nessun futuro senza passato," Rome 25-31 May 1981 (Rome: De Luca, 1981) 75-78; S. ROMANO, "Alcuni fatti e qualche ipotesi su S.Cecilia in Trastevere," *Art Medievale* s.2, 1 (1988) 105-119.

²² Jean Cholet, titular cardinal of S.Cecilia (1281-92), was first proposed as patron by J. GARDNER, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," *BM* 115 (1973) 420-439, p.437. Other scholars have argued that Simon de Brion, titular cardinal of the church (1261-81) until his elevation to the papal throne as Martin IV (d.1285), is a more likely candidate as patron. For example, A. MENICHELLA, "Pietro Cavallini: Contributo per un'ipotesi di committenza Orsini," in *Federico II* (1980) II, 51-57, pp.56-57.

²³ Here the sources have been a variety of biographies and histories of cardinals and popes, chronicles, and archival material, most of which I have been able to consult at the Biblioteca Vaticana. The E. MÜLLER article, "Le cardinal Jean Cholet," *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Oise* 11 (1880) 790-835, is held in the Bibliothèque National in Paris.

scene at S.Cecilia.

The chapter concludes with a study of Cavallini's circle of patronage which reveals a tangled web of personal and professional relationships in papal Rome at the end of the thirteenth century. Cavallini, Arnolfo di Cambio, and Giotto all received commissions from both the Angevin monarchy and members of the powerful Orsini clan whose political and commercial interconnections obviously included art patronage and the circulation of artists within this milieu. The sources for this aspect of the study are found with historians of Late Medieval Rome and Angevin Italy: from Gregorovius' *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* to Duprè Theseider's *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)*, to recent articles by Caciorgna, Menichella (as noted) and Ragionieri.²⁴ Together, the discussions of the patronage of S.Cecilia and of artistic patronage in Rome produce a hazy picture of powerful baronial families involved politically and economically with the French popes and cardinals who brought the Angevin monarchy to Italy. These families expanded their power base in association with the Angevin court. Although Rome constitutes a unique case, being the home of the papacy for centuries only to be abandoned by the popes in 1309, the scenario sets the stage for discussion in the following chapters of the Angevin role in Florence and Orvieto.

Chapter II is devoted to S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples and Angevin iconography. Repeated attribution to Cavallini of the frescoes of Donnaregina, dated c.1320, and its patronage by the Angevin queen, Maria of Hungary, justify its inclusion in a thesis focused on Tuscany

²⁴ G. RAGIONIERI, "Cronologia e committenza: Pietro Cavallini e gli Stefaneschi di Trastevere," *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia*, s.3, 11, 2 (1981) 447-467.

and Lazio. In this chapter I discuss the Last Judgement scene in Donnaregina in terms of its architectural disposition in a choir loft. On Clarissan architecture I have benefitted from the work of Caroline Bruzelius (on Naples) and Jeffrey Hamburger (on Germany).²⁵ Regarding the decoration, I argue that the archaic iconography of the Last Judgement scene in Donnaregina was anathema to the views of Robert of Anjou concerning the Beatific Vision controversy and would not have been executed had Robert been obliged to take over the project after his mother's death. I also challenge the myth of two separate painting campaigns and use documentary and technical evidence to conclude that the decoration of Donnaregina had been largely completed before the death of Maria of Hungary in 1323.

On Donnaregina and, more generally, on art of the Neapolitan court, the best sources are the books by Bertaux, Bologna and Leone di Castris.²⁶ Leone di Castris in particular considers the art of the Angevin court at Naples within the context of the broader contemporary currents in the rest of Italy. On the Beatific Vision controversy, articles by Douie and Weakland,²⁷ Dykmans' book, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur*

²⁵ C. BRUZELIUS, "Hearing is believing: Clarissan architecture, ca. 1213-1340," *Gesta* 31, 2 (1992) 83-91; J. HAMBURGER, "Art, Enclosure and the 'Cura Monialium': Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31, 2 (1992) 108-134.

²⁶ E. BERTAUX, *Santa Maria di Donnaregina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV* (Naples, 1899) E. BERTAUX, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina, nuovi appunti," *Napoli Nobilissima* 15 (1906) fasc.IX, 129-133; E. BERTAUX, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera di Émile Bertaux*, A. PRANDI, ed., 7 vols. (Rome, 1978); F. BOLOGNA, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414* (Rome, 1969); LEONE DE CASTRIS, PIERLUIGI, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli angioina* (Rome, 1986).

²⁷ D.L. DOUIE, "John XXII and the Beatific Vision," *Dominican Studies* 3, 2 (1950) 154-174; J.E. WEAKLAND, "Pope John XXII and the Beatific Vision Controversy," *Annale Mediaevale* 9 (1968) 76-84.

la vision beatifique (Rome, 1973), and his edition of Robert of Anjou's *La Vision bienheureuse* (Rome, 1970) are excellent sources, to which we may now add Trottmann's comprehensive study, *La Vision Béatifique* (Rome, 1995). Numerous sources have provided the historical background to the Angevin domination of Italy, noted above, but here I single out Housley's *The Italian Crusades*, and Caggese's *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, as having been extremely valuable throughout the thesis for an understanding of the sometimes elusive role of the Angevins outside the *Regno*.

The last part of the second chapter discusses the Angevin association with the image of the seated ruler in the tradition of Solomon. Sermons by and about Robert of Anjou and images of the Angevin monarchs which allude to the Last Judgement clearly demonstrate that Angevin self-image was bound up with both imperial precedents and the particular secular, judiciary role they played in Italy under the terms of their alliance with the papacy. Here I have consulted the sermons to find the literary equivalent of the pictorial image of the seated ruler. D'Avray's book, *Death and the Prince* (Oxford, 1994), Pryds' dissertation, *The Politics of Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Naples: Robert of Anjou (1309-1343) and his Sermons* (1994), Saenger's article, and the recent article by Gardner on Angevin iconography,²⁸ have all provided support for my hypothesis that the

²⁸ E. SAENGER, "Das Lobgedicht auf König Robert von Anjou. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte des Trecento" *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 84 (1988) 7-91; J. GARDNER, "Seated Kings, Sea-faring Saints and Heraldry: Some Themes in Angevin Iconography," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Actes du Colloque International, Rome-Naples, Nov.1995, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 245 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998) 115-126.

Last Judgement was consciously emblematic of the Angevin role in Italy.

Chapter III is devoted to the first wave of innovations in Tuscan monumental Last Judgement scenes and, curiously, focuses on two frescoes produced outside Tuscany: Giotto's fresco at the Arena Chapel in Padua (1305) and the fresco in S. Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (c.1320). In both cases the circumstances of patronage suggest a Papal-Guelf connection. A number of earlier works in various media are brought into the discussion, like the Pisano pulpits, which serve to establish the existence of an early Tuscan iconography of the Last Judgement scene which consists of three characteristic iconographical features: emphasis on a large cross, the intercession of the Virgin directly among the blessed, and the introduction of the image of the penitent patron at the foot of the cross. For Giotto's Last Judgement, the sources mentioned above have been most useful; for Tuscania, a variety of historical studies and chronicles provided a context, and Romano's excellent book, *Eclissi di Roma* (Rome, 1992), provides the only good art historical account of the frescoes.

A further section of Chapter III is then devoted to the penitent patron in order to address the significance of donor portraits in Last Judgement scenes and the development of devotional images, both of which can be associated with the Franciscan movement. Papal decrees and the dissemination of new doctrine regarding the fate of the soul are discussed in this section. The sources here are various: Moorman's *History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1968), Brooke's *Early Franciscan Government* (Cambridge, 1959), Meersseman's, *Ordo Fraternalitatis* (Rome, 1977), Eubel's indispensable *Hierarchia catholica*

medii aevi (Regensburg, 1913-35), an article by Bernstein,²⁹ and the registers and writings of the pope's themselves.

Chapter IV is entitled *The Angevin Connection* because it presents evidence for a close Angevin association with each of the monuments discussed within it. The chapter begins with a discussion of the Florence Baptistery cupola mosaic (c.1271-1330). While its execution spans six decades, suggesting that it might easily belong in either an earlier or later chapter of this study, iconographically it is distinct from the early Tuscan Last Judgement scene and has been placed in this chapter because of its more direct association with the Angevin presence in Italy. Two further monuments included in this chapter, the frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in the Bargello in Florence (c.1322) and the façade reliefs of the cathedral in Orvieto (c.1290-1330), constitute the second wave of Tuscan developments of the Last Judgement scene and share with the Florence Baptistery a strong connection with the Angevin hegemony.

In discussing the Florence Baptistery cupola mosaics the significance of the location of a Last Judgement scene over an altar in a baptistery is shown to be relevant to the question of the patronage and dating of the mosaics.³⁰ Based on scant existing documentation,³¹

²⁹ A. BERNSTEIN, "The Invocation of Hell in Thirteenth Century Paris," in *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. HANKINS ET AL., eds., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 49 (New York, 1987) 13-54.

³⁰ For the dating of the mosaics see I. HUECK, *Das Programm der Kuppelmosaiken im Florentiner Baptisterium*, PhD dissertation, Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Mondorf-Rhein: Krupinsky, 1962); A. GARZELLI, "Per una lettura del Giudizio Universale nel Battistero di Firenze," in *Romanico Padano, Romanico Europeo*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Modena 1979, A.C. QUINTAVALLE, ed. (Parma: Artegrafica Silva, 1982) 399-410. More recent scholarship is presented in various papers in *Alla Riscoperta di Piazza del Duomo in Firenze*:

I present an hypothesis concerning the political significance of the work, connecting it to the Angevin domination of Florence during the period of production of the Baptistery cupola mosaics. The mosaic's imitation of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem might be related to Pope Gregory X's travels in the Holy Land and his efforts to reconcile the eastern and western Churches and possibly also to the Guelf-Ghibelline peace negotiations in Florence involving the pope and Charles of Anjou.

In the second section of this chapter I reconsider the scenes of Paradise and Inferno in the Magdalen Chapel in light of the civic function of the chapel, of Angevin control of the office of *podestà*, and of behind-the-scenes Angevin patronage of the Bargello. Here the sources are similar to those for the Baptistery: Villani, Davidsohn, and Vasari (here the Milanese edition). Gombrich's critical approach to Giotto's supposed portrait of Dante in the Magdalen Chapel made me aware of the many pitfalls of trying to interpret this painted program.³² In the third section I discuss the relief panels flanking the portals on the façade of the Duomo of Orvieto. Their many iconographic links to French sculptural programs are explained by the presence in Orvieto throughout the second half of the thirteenth century of the Papal Court and a large constituency of Angevin representatives and troops. On Orvieto, Waley and Carpentier supplied the historical

Saggi per una lettura storico-artistico-religiosa dei suoi monumenti. I: Dal Battistero al Duomo, VERDON, T., ed. (Florence: Centro Di, 1992).

³¹ VASARI-FREY, I, 329-349; R. DAVIDSOHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin: Mittler, 1896-1908) IV (1908) 461-465. For the literature C. CONSOLI, "Il Giudizio Finale del Battistero di Firenze e il suo pubblico," *Quaderni Medievali* 9 (1980) 55-83.

³² E.H. GOMBRICH, "Giotto's Portrait of Dante?," *BM* 121 (1979) 471-483.

background;³³ Della Valle, Fumi and Ricetti provided the documentation;³⁴ White, Taylor, Harding, and Gardner have been excellent sources on the sculpture of the relief piers and the iconography of the façade.³⁵

The fifth and final chapter considers the tendency towards the secularization of the Italian Last Judgement scene in the 1330s. First, in order to maintain the theme of the Last Judgement as a Papal-Angevin-Guelf emblem, I establish that in Pisa, a powerful Ghibelline stronghold, the Triumph of Death cycle in the Campo Santo cloister reveals an anti-imperial iconography associated with pro-papal initiatives in Pisa after the departure of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1330. Then, I introduce the fresco fragments of a similar Triumph of Death cycle formerly in the right aisle of S.Croce in Florence, for which there is little evidence to suggest an accurate date. However, Marcia Hall's work

³³ D. WALEY, *Medieval Orvieto: the Political History of an Italian City-State* (Cambridge, 1952); E. CARPENTIER, *Orvieto à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Ville e campagne dans le cadastre de 1292* (Paris, 1986).

³⁴ G. DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1791); L. FUMI, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Rome, 1891); L. FUMI, ed., *Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S.Maria di Orvieto* (Rome, 1891); L. FUMI, "Annales Urbevetani (1161-1332)," in *Ephemerides Urbevetanae*, 2 vols., in *RIS* XV, V (Città di Castello, 1903) I, Appendix II, 125-198; L. RICETTI, ed., *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1988); and G. TESTA, ed., *La cattedrale di Orvieto. Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo* (Rome, 1990).

³⁵ J. WHITE, "The Reliefs on the Facade of the Duomo at Orvieto," *JWCI* 22 (1959) 254-302; M. TAYLOR, *The Iconography of the Facade Decoration of the Cathedral of Orvieto*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1969; C. HARDING, "The Production of Medieval Mosaics: the Orvieto Evidence," *DOP* 43 (1989) 73-102; and J. GARDNER, "The Façade of the Duomo at Orvieto," in *De l'Art comme Mystagogie. Iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*, Actes du Colloque, Geneva 1994, Y. CHRISTE, ed. (Poitiers, 1996) 199-209, Pls.C-CVII.

on the *tramezzo*, or rood screen, which traversed the nave of S.Croce,³⁶ may provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1332 for the S.Croce Triumph of Death cycle. While it has been generally accepted, following Vasari, that the S.Croce frescoes postdate those in the Campo Santo, I argue that both frescoes follow the example of the Hell scene in the Magdalen Chapel in Florence, and I suggest that a reversal of that chronology may be in order. For the Campo Santo I rely on Baschet's article in *L'Ecrit Voir* (1986), and his book, *Les justices de l'au-delà*, and on Polzer, Luzzati, and Frugoni.³⁷ For the S.Croce frescoes, as noted, Hall's discoveries have been extremely useful, as well as the traditional Florentine sources noted above, such as Villani and Davidsohn.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of how such a sacred scene as the Last Judgement was manipulated in its service to the Papal-Angevin-Guelf cause, resulting in its secularization. Inscriptions in the frescoes of the Campo Santo and S.Croce, referred to by Vasari as *visibile parlare*, which address the viewer directly and invite his participation, and which address warnings to contemporary citizens and Ghibelline supporters, are one indication of the

³⁶ M.B. HALL, "The *Tramezzo* in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *AB* 56 (1974) 325-341.

³⁷ C. FRUGONI, "Altri luoghi, cercando il paradiso: il ciclo di Buffalmacco nel Campo Santo di Pisa e la committenza domenicana," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* s.3, 18, 4, (1988) 1557-1643; M. LUZZATI, "Simone Saltarelli Archivescovo di Pisa (1323-1342) e gli affreschi del Maestro del Trionfo della Morte," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* s.3, 18, 4 (1988) 1645-1664; J. POLZER, "Aristotle, Mohammed and Nicholas V in Hell," *AB* 46 (1964) 457-469; J. POLZER, "The Role of the Written Word in the Early Frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa," in *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, Acts of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art, Washington DC, 1986, 3 vols., I. LAVIN, ed. (Pennsylvania-London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989) II, 361-372.

secularization of the Last Judgement in order to transmit a strong pro-papal message. Imitation, by both S.Croce and Campo Santo, of the Magdalen Chapel frescoes which are located in a secular building in Papal-Angevin-Guelf Florence, also reflects an increasing secular appropriation of the Last Judgement scene. Clearly the most significant evidence of manipulation of the sacred is the use of the Last Judgement image as an emblem of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.

By the end, I hope to have demonstrated in this study that the Angevin monarchs, responsible for just government not only within their kingdom but throughout most of Italy, and subservient only to the pope, came to associate themselves with the image of Christ enthroned in the Last Judgement scene, and, that the proliferation of the Last Judgement scene in Guelf towns can be associated with the stability of their alliance with the papacy. My dissertation thus will have recontextualized the iconographic developments of the Last Judgement scene in the mural painting of Lazio and Tuscany in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by demonstrating that the Angevin monarchs identified themselves with the role of Christ in the act of judging, albeit in the temporal realm, and that the sacred scene of the Last Judgement was used as a political emblem in the imperial tradition of sacral-kingship.

I

SANTA CECILIA IN TRASTEVERE: TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN ROME

Pietro Cavallini's Last Judgement in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, dated almost certainly 1293, is not the earliest surviving Last Judgement scene in Central Italy, nor even in Rome; nevertheless it forms the subject of the first chapter of this dissertation. Its significance as a point of departure becomes clear when the fresco is seen against the background of the Roman tradition of Last Judgement scenes. Cavallini's Last Judgement represents an iconographical transition: from a period in which few Last Judgement scenes were produced (and those in abbreviated form), to a revival of an older Roman tradition in which the scene is widely depicted with all the details of the separation of the blessed from the damned.

Cavallini's stylistic innovations are the result of a combination of ancient compositional devices and fresco techniques, acquired in the restoration of the early Christian fresco cycles of S.Paolo fuori le mura, and of artistic and theological influences from France which accompanied the arrival in Rome of a series of French popes and cardinals, including the patron of S.Cecilia in Trastevere. Beginning with the appointment of

Charles of Anjou as Senator of Rome in 1263 by the French pope Urban IV, the presence of the Angevin monarchy in Rome contributed to the rise of the wealth and power of the baronial families connected with the papacy and the Angevins, and stimulated the expression of this power through art patronage. A survey of Cavallini's circle of patronage will demonstrate that he worked within this network, not only for cardinals and *familiars* of the pope, but also directly for the king of Naples, Charles II Anjou. This French influence carries important implications for art patronage throughout Italy, but in the present context, it has a vital impact on the development of the Last Judgement scene in Lazio and Tuscany in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

SANTA CECILIA AND ITS 13TH-CENTURY DECORATION

The church of S.Cecilia in Trastevere was built as a male monastery by Pope Paschal I (817-824).³⁸ It was consecrated to the memory of St Cecilia, an early Christian martyr, whose relics were transferred from the catacomb of Callixtus and deposited in a marble sarcophagus beneath the altar in 822.³⁹ The ninth-century mosaics of the apse and the apsidal arch (I.1), typical of Roman paleochristian

³⁸ *Monasticon Italiae. Repertorio topo-bibliografico dei monasteri italiani*, I: Roma e Lazio, F. CARAFFA, ed. (Cesena, 1981) 48. Also R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1937-1977) I (1937), 94-111, esp.94-97.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 97; M. ARMELLINI, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Rome, 1982 [1891]) 669-672; E. LOEVINSON, "Documenti del monastero di S.Cecilia in Trastevere," *ASRSP* 49 (1926) 355-404, pp.356-357.

churches like SS.Cosma e Damiano and S.Prassede, still remain (I.2).⁴⁰ That of the apsidal arch, however, known from a seventeenth-century engraving by Ciampini, remains hidden behind an eighteenth-century decoration (I.3).⁴¹

A late-thirteenth century restoration campaign retained the apse and arch mosaics and decorated the rest of the church with frescoes. The painted program consisted of an Old Testament cycle on the liturgical north wall, a New Testament cycle on the south wall, a Last Judgement scene on the reverse façade and, complementing the Virgins and venerating Elders of the mosaics, a series of standing Prophets and Virgins in fictive Gothic niches between the clerestory windows, fragments of which still remain behind the present decoration (I.4, I.5).⁴² The decoration was completed by a sculpted *ciborium* which was

⁴⁰ The apse mosaic depicts Christ in the centre between saints Peter, Valerian and Cecilia on the right, and saints Paul, Agatha and Paschal on the left, flanked by palms. Below Christ is the Apocalyptic Lamb of God, flanked by six sheep on either side which proceed toward the centre from the jewelled cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

⁴¹ The composition of the apsidal arch, according to the engraving (which differs slightly from the remains found during the repairs) consisted, in the top register, of a Madonna and Child in the centre, flanked by two angels, followed on either side by a row of 5 virgins offering crowns of martyrdom to the Madonna. The virgins alternated with palm trees and, at the extreme right and left, were representations of the sacred cities, Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Below were the images of 12 bearded Elders in 3 rows who also offered crowns to the Madonna. B. MELI, "La basilica di S.Cecilia in Trastevere ed i suoi ulteriori ritrovamenti," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 17-22, pp.17-18, Figs.3-4. See also drawings by Eclissi (Windsor, Royal Library, RL 9218 and 9221) published in S. WAETZOLDT, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana 18 (Vienna-Munich, 1964) nn.64-65, figs.34-35.

⁴² A.M. ROMANINI, "Il restauro di S.Cecilia a Roma e la storia della pittura architettonica in età gotica," in *Tre interventi di restauro: San Michele, Convento di San Francesco a Ripa, Santa Cecilia* (Rome, 1981) 75-78, p.76; MELI, 18-20, Figs.7-12.

placed over the relics of numerous early Christian martyrs (I.1).⁴³ The frescoes of the nave were restored in 1599 and then covered completely in 1724.⁴⁴ A choir loft and choir stalls were installed against the reverse façade wall of the church when the monastery was taken over in 1527 by an enclosed order of Benedictine nuns.⁴⁵ This damaged, but at the same time preserved, the Last Judgment scene on the reverse façade (I.6, I.7) which was rediscovered by Hermanin in 1900.⁴⁶ Adjacent, on the south wall, are two fragmentary scenes of Esau and Isaac and Jacob's Dream, separated from the Last Judgement by a painted cosmatesque column. On the north wall adjacent to the Last Judgement are fragments of the torso of a giant saint and an Annunciation scene which were further damaged by the construction of a doorway into the nun's choir.⁴⁷

⁴³ The relics in S.Cecilia in Trastevere are those of the saint and her companion martyrs Valeriano, Tiburzio, Massimo, Urbano and Lucio. S. ROMANO, "Alcuni fatti e qualche ipotesi su S.Cecilia in Trastevere," *Art Medievale* s.2, 1 (1988) 105-119, p.105. P. UGONIO, *Historia delle stationi di Roma* (Rome, 1588) p.134r, adds to the list the bodies of 900 martyrs transferred from a cemetery by Paschal I: S.Massimo, S.Felice (pope), S.Biasio (bishop), Ss.Cosma e Damiano, Ss. Marco e Marcelliniano, S.Pancrazio, S.Gregorio I (pope), S.Agatha; also the veil of S.Cecilia and other unidentified relics. These were all put on display on feast and station days. Station days were the days in which the pope celebrated mass in one of the various Roman churches, a tradition established by Gregory I. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, E.A. LIVINGSTONE, ed. (Oxford, 1992 [1977]) 487.

⁴⁴ P. HETHERINGTON, *Pietro Cavallini: a Study in the Art of Late Medieval Rome* (London, 1979) 37; ROMANO 1988, 105 n.1.

⁴⁵ Clement VII transferred the nuns from S.Maria in Campo Marzio. From 1344 to 1419 S.Cecilia was occupied by nuns of the Order of Humiliati. *Monasticon Italiae*, I, 48.

⁴⁶ F. HERMANIN, "Un affresco di Pietro Cavallini a S.Cecilia in Trastevere," *ASRSP* 23 (1900) 397-410; F. HERMANIN, "Nuovi affreschi di Pietro Cavallini a Santa Cecilia in Trastevere," *L'Arte* 4 (1901) 239-244.

⁴⁷ For illustrations see HETHERINGTON 1979, Pls.72-74.

The late thirteenth-century frescoes have been attributed to Pietro Cavallini; this is based on Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Commentarii*, written c.1440, and on a comparison with the mosaics in S.Maria in Trastevere which is regarded as an autograph work by Cavallini.⁴⁸ There is no documentation to firmly establish the date of Cavallini's frescoes in S.Cecilia in Trastevere but they have been traditionally associated with the 1293 completion date inscribed on Arnolfo di Cambio's *ciborium* over the main altar. The work of Romanini has shown convincingly that the *ciborium* and the frescoes belong to the same decorative campaign.⁴⁹

MAGISTER PETRUS CAVALLINUS DE ROMA PICTOR

Only a few documents survive which may relate to the Roman artist Pietro Cavallini. The earliest of these, dated 1273 and concerning a transfer of land, names a "Petrus dictus Cavallinus de Cerronibus" who, it has been assumed, in order to witness a legal document must have been of 'legal' age.⁵⁰ Possibly referring to the same "Petrus" is a gloss written in a manuscript between 1330 and 1360 by the papal

⁴⁸ ...dipinse tutta di sua mano santa Cicilia in Trasteuere..., L. GHIBERTI, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, J. VON SCHLOSSER, ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1912) I, Commentary II, 39. Support for the attribution to Cavallini of the mosaics in S.Maria in Trastevere comes from a 17th-century watercolour copy of the donor mosaic with the partial inscription beneath it, ...us....it Petrus..., (Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Barb.Lat.4404, f.23r), illustrated in WAETZOLDT, Fig.306.

⁴⁹ F. HERMANIN, "L'iscrizione di Arnolfo da Firenze in S.Cecilia in Trastevere," *Bullettino della Società Filologica Romana* 3 (1902) 37-46, p.39; ROMANINI 1981, 75-76; A.M. ROMANINI, "Arnolfo e gli 'Arnolfo' apocrifi," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 27-51, 51 figs.; ROMANO 1988, 113-115.

⁵⁰ Rome, Archivio di S.Maria Maggiore, orig.perg., D., II, 48, published in G. FERRI, "Un documento su Pietro Cavallini," in *Nozze Hermanin-Hausmann* (Perugia, 1904) 59-62; HETHERINGTON 1979, 37.

scribe Giovanni Cavallini, commemorating his father, Petrus de Cerronibus, who lived a hundred years.⁵¹ The will of Matteo Orso, son of Napoleone Orsini, witnessed at Vicovaro in 1279, provides for the payment of his debts to various persons including a Petro Cavallino from whom he had received a small loan and, most importantly, a *fibula*, or buckle.⁵² This would seem to refer to Pietro Cavallini the artist, and to indicate, according to Barbero, that Cavallini's professional activity extended to jewellery, and that by 1279 he was not only an adult but master of a workshop, suggesting a birthdate shortly after mid-century.⁵³

While these documents conveniently provide a structure for the artist's biography, the framework is not secure, because only the Angevin registers refer specifically to Pietro Cavallini, Roman painter. Two long-known documents place *Magister Petrus Cavallinus de Roma pictor* in the service of the Angevin court in 1308.⁵⁴ Another Angevin document, dated between September 1307 and August 1309, has recently come to light regarding a collective payment to members of the Angevin

⁵¹ Vatican City, BAV, *Vat.Lat.*1927, published in P. FEDELE, "Varietà: per la biografia di Pietro Cavallini," *ASRSP* 43 (1920) 157-159. HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 152.

⁵² Rome, Archivio Capitolino di Roma, Fondo Orsini, II.A.II. n.12: Item volo quod ipsi heredes mei masculi dent et solvant Petro Cavallino .XIII. libras provisinorum quas michi mutuavit in una manu et .XIII. alias libras provisinorum quas ei dare teneor pro un fibula quam recepi ab eo. See A. BARBERO, "Un documento inedito su Pietro Cavallini," *Paragone Arte* 40, 2 (1989) 84-88, p.84; A. TOMEI, "La pittura e le arti sontuarie: da Alessandro IV a Bonifacio VIII (1254-1303)," in *Roma nel Duecento. L'Arte nella Città dei Papi da Innocenzo III a Bonifacio VIII*, A.M. ROMANINI, ed. (Turin, 1991) 321-403, pp.373-374.

⁵³ BARBERO 1989, 85.

⁵⁴ Naples, Archivio di Stato di Napoli: Reg.Ang.1307, n.167, f.245 (10 June 1308); Reg.Rob.1309, H., f.216 (15 Dec. 1308), published in HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 153.

court, including a payment to "*Magistro Petro Cavellino de Roma pittori*."⁵⁵

Ghiberti's *Commentarii* is the only relatively reliable source of knowledge about Cavallini's career as a painter in Rome.⁵⁶ In addition to praising Cavallini's exceptional skill, Ghiberti lists all the works in Rome which he believed to have been created by Cavallini, all of which are now known to have been produced between the pontificates of Nicholas III (1277-1280) and John XXII (1316-1334).⁵⁷ Giorgio Vasari, a much less reliable source, offers conflicting information in *Le Vite* regarding Cavallini's dates: in the 1550 edition he claims that Cavallini died in 1344 at the age of seventy-five, and in the edition of 1568 that he lived between 1279 and 1364 and died at the age of eighty-five.⁵⁸ Vasari adds further attributions, some spurious, to Ghiberti's profile of

⁵⁵ Canc.Ang., Reg.1306 D, f.246: Multis servientibus Curiae provisio pro solutione quantitatis, inter quos Domino Nicolao episcopo Botrontino cappellano Regio, Gottifredo et Miletto Aurifabris Regiis, Magistro Petro Cavellino de Roma pittori, Imberto Longo familiari, Domino Goffredo de Rumiliano castellano Castri cui pro parte Herici Cattinii filii quondam principis Manfredi, unc.15..., published in F. ACETO, "Pittori e documenti della Napoli angioina: aggiunte ed espunzioni," *Prospettiva* 67 (1992) 53-65, p.62 n.85.

⁵⁶ For Ghiberti's reliability see "Statistica ghibertiana" in L. BELLOSI, *Buffalmacco e il Trionfo della Morte* (Torino, 1974) Appendix I, 113-120.

⁵⁷ ...uedesi dalla parte dentro sopra alle porte 4 vangelisti di sua mano, in santo Piero di Roma, di grandissima forma, molto maggiore che el naturale; et due figure molto eccellentemente fatte e di grandissimo rilievo, et così ne sono dipinte nella naue dallato.... dipinse tutta di sua mano santa Cicilia in Trasteuere, la maggior parte di sancto Grisogono fece istorie sono in Santa Maria in Trasteuere di musayco molto egregiamente, nella capella maggiore 6 historie.... Dipinse tutta la chiesa di santo Francesco.... Era dipinto el capitolo tutto di sua mano egregiamente fatte. Ghiberti, I, Commentary II, 39. Also published in HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 155.

⁵⁸ VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 189. HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 155-156, publishes the 1550 edition of "Pietro Cavallini Romano, pittore."

Cavallini. He states that Cavallini was a disciple of Giotto who assisted the master at S.Pietro; that he painted a cycle above the door of the sacristy at S.Maria in Aracoeli; and that at S.Maria in Trastevere he executed frescoes throughout the interior and a mosaic on the facade in addition to the apse mosaic cycle. Vasari attributes to Cavallini works in Florence, Orvieto, and Assisi, and emphasizes the artist's great piety, claiming that Cavallini created works which performed miracles.⁵⁹ He also reports that Cavallini was buried in S.Paolo fuori le mura.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the fact that Vasari associates Cavallini with works in Florence, Orvieto and Assisi which were Guelf strongholds with papal and Angevin connections, and with works in Roman churches patronized by members of the Orsini circle who dominated the papal Curia in the late thirteenth century, indicates a pattern of patronage which will be discussed further below.

CAVALLINI AT SAN PAOLO FUORI LE MURA

Giangaetano Orsini was elected pope in 1277, the first Roman-born pope since the election of Honorius III in 1216.⁶¹ As Nicholas III he

⁵⁹ Vasari refers to the sculpture of the Crucifix, attributed to Cavallini, which reportedly spoke to Saint Brigid in S.Paolo fuori le mura. VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 188; G. MATTHIAE, *Pietro Cavallini* (Rome, 1972) 11.

⁶⁰ VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 189, publishes the epitaph which once appeared on Cavallini's tomb: "quantum romanae petrus decus addidit urbi / pictura tantum dat decus ipse polo;" also HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 156. No trace remains of this tomb, perhaps destroyed in the fire of 1823. See C.G. FALDI, "Cavallini, Pietro," in *DBI* 22 (1979), 775-784, p.776.

⁶¹ F. GREGOROVIVS, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., A. HAMILTON, trans., 8 vols. (London, 1897-1909), V (1906) II, 479.

commenced a campaign to recreate the glory of Rome, beginning with the refurbishing of Rome's most important churches, S.Pietro and S.Paolo fuori le mura.⁶² Among other contemporary works produced at St Peter's, giant figures of the Evangelists and of saints Peter and Paul, now lost, have been attributed to Cavallini. Generally accepted is the attribution of the Old Testament paintings in S.Paolo to Cavallini, also based on testimony by Ghiberti and Vasari.⁶³

The late thirteenth-century nave cycles of S.Paolo were restorations or copies of a possibly originally fifth-century decoration.⁶⁴ Their subject matter is known today mainly through the watercolour copies made for cardinal Francesco Barberini in 1634 and collected in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Barb.Lat.4406 (I.8).⁶⁵ Based on inscriptions and the two representations of Nicholas III within the cycle, the Pauline cycle on the left wall has been dated to Nicholas' pontificate (1277-1280).⁶⁶ The Old Testament cycle on the right wall was

⁶² For the significance of the *romanitas* of Nicholas, see A. COLLINS, *Cola di Rienzo (1312-1354): the Revolution in Historical Perspective*, PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1996, 110.

⁶³ ... in santo Pagolo era di musayco la faccia dinançi; dentro nella chiesa tutte le parieti della naue di meco erano dipinte storie del testamento uecchio.... GHIBERTI, I, Commentary II, 39. In S.Paolo poi for di Roma fece la facciata che v'è di musaico, e per la nave del mezzo molte storie del Testamento Vecchio.... VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 186.

⁶⁴ *Liber Pontificalis*, L. DUCHESNE, ed., 3 vols. (Paris, 1882-1955), II (1892), 239, states that S. Paolo was renovated, perhaps with frescoes, during the pontificate of Leo I (440-461). The frescoes almost certainly underwent a series of restorations prior to the 13th century. See KRAUTHEIMER, V (1977), 97-102.

⁶⁵ WAETZOLDT, 55-64, Figs.318-407; HETHERINGTON 1979, Figs.100-135.

⁶⁶ J. GARDNER, "S.Paolo fuori le mura, Nicholas III and Pietro Cavallini," *ZfKg* 34 (1971) 240-248, p.246. See also, J. WHITE, "Cavallini and the lost frescoes in S.Paolo," *JWCI* 19 (1956) 84-95, p.85;

probably begun after the appointment of Abbot Bartholomew in 1282 and the entire restoration probably drew to a close with the completion of Arnolfo di Cambio's *ciborium* in 1285.⁶⁷ The S.Paolo cycles have been reconstructed from the Barberini watercolours and a series of paintings and engravings of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.⁶⁸ The two registers of both narrative cycles began at the triumphal arch and proceeded towards the entrance wall. The Old Testament scenes on the right wall, therefore, followed the texts of Genesis and Exodus and read, in usual narrative order, from left to right. The Pauline cycle along the left wall, however, must have been read from right to left.⁶⁹

S.Paolo fuori le mura represents both a survival, in the restoration of its original program, and a revival, in the application of early medieval narrative concepts by the restoration artists who had to devise original compositions to fill lacunae in the program.⁷⁰ In restoring the Old Testament cycle at S.Paolo, Cavallini was, in all

HETHERINGTON 1979, 87-91.

⁶⁷ GARDNER 1971, 246 n.21. Dating the Old Testament cycle between 1282 and 1290 are WHITE 1956, 85, and HETHERINGTON 1979, 87-91.

⁶⁸ All of the surviving visual evidence is illustrated and evaluated in WHITE 1956, 84-95; HETHERINGTON 1979, 82-91. See also L. ELEEN, "The Frescoes from the Life of St Paul in San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome: Early Christian or Medieval?," *RACAR* 12, 1 (1985) 251-259, pp.251-252. J. GARDNER, "Pietro Cavallini," Review of HETHERINGTON 1979, in *BM* 122 (1980) 255-258, p.258, points out, however, that the possibility of intermediate restoration campaigns limits the validity of any argument based on the group of later copies.

⁶⁹ Other known 5th-century cycles, Old Saint Peter's for example, had a similar arrangement, and many medieval churches followed the Roman models. S.Maria in Vescovio and the Testamentary cycles of the upper church of S.Francesco at Assisi, for example, represent a deliberate revival of the Early Christian scheme.

⁷⁰ ELEEN, 255-256.

likelihood, introduced there to the ancient techniques of *buon fresco*, of volumetric drapery design, and of foreshortening architectural details to create spatial illusion (I.8); techniques which he later used and developed in S.Cecilia in Trastevere.⁷¹

THE ROMAN TRADITION

The placement of Old and New Testament cycles on the nave walls of S.Cecilia in Trastevere, surmounted by standing saints between the clerestory windows, corresponds to the programs in the basilicas of S.Paolo fuori le mura and Old Saint Peter's.⁷² S.Cecilia has a western apse, as had Old Saint Peter's and several of its Roman imitators, but departs from the *Early Christian models in that there seems to have* been only one register of biblical scenes, and in that the New Testament cycle begins at the entrance wall and reads from left to right, ending at the apse wall.⁷³ According to Otto Demus, medieval programs

⁷¹ WHITE 1956, 87-89.

⁷² S.Paolo is exceptional in depicting scenes from the Acts of the Apostles for the New Testament cycle. S.Cecilia follows St Peter's in depicting a christological cycle. J. GARBER, *Wirkungen der Frühchristlichen Gemäldezyklen der alten Peters-und-Pauls Basiliken in Rom* (Berlin, 1918) pp.27-28; G. GRIMALDI, *Descrizione della Basilica antica di S.Pietro in Vaticano, Codice Barberini latino 2733*, R. NIGGL, ed. (Vatican City, 1972); W. TRONZO, "The Prestige of Old St Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985) 93-112, p.97; H. KESSLER, "L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per la decorazione delle chiese medievali," in *Fragmenta Picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, ex.cat. (Rome, 1989) 45-64, pp.45-46.

⁷³ This arrangement of the cycles at S.Cecilia deviates from the more common "concentric" or "wraparound" pattern discussed by EILEEN, 255 and M. LAVIN, *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches, 431-1600* (Chicago-London, 1990) 7.

involving large narrative cycles of the Old and New Testaments only occur in certain areas of Italy: Rome and its environs, Sicily, and the sphere of Montecassino.⁷⁴ It is interesting to note the pattern, as Demus does, that most of these programs date between 1080 and 1300, are usually associated with Benedictine monasteries, and are modelled on Old Saint Peter's. S.Cecilia's program has all these characteristics.

There is no surviving evidence that a Last Judgement scene ever covered the reverse façade walls of either S.Pietro or S.Paolo.⁷⁵ However, Panvinio, in the sixteenth century, makes reference to such a scene on the reverse façade (east wall) of the Lateran.⁷⁶ There are, moreover, several medieval churches whose decorative schemes are believed to have been modelled on the Early Christian Roman basilicas (particularly on S.Pietro), in which there are Last Judgement scenes on the entrance walls. Among them are S.Angelo in Formis near Capua (c.1070) (I.9), S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri (c.1100-1130), S.Benedetto in

⁷⁴ O. DEMUS, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), 205-209.

⁷⁵ Scholars who make a case for the Roman origin of the tradition of Last Judgement scenes on the reverse façades of Christian churches include: A. MOPPERT-SCHMIDT, *Die Fresken von S.Angelo in Formis* (Zürich, 1967) 103-108; G.GUNHOUSE, *The fresco decoration of Sant'Angelo in Formis*, PhD dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1991, 225-226; N.M. ZCHOMELIDSE, *Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri: Pittura sacra al tempo della Riforma Gregoriana / Sakrale Malerei im Zeitalter der Gregorianischen Reform* (Rome, 1996), 153-155.

⁷⁶ *Frons basilicae intus tota picturis antiquis et parum elegantibus exornata est Christi scilicet Servatoris novissimo die humanum genus iudicantis...*, *Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis Fratris Eremitae Augustiniani De Ecclesieis [sic] Urbis Romae*, Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Vat.Lat.6781, f.315r, transcribed (with errors) in P. LAUER, *Le palais de Latran. Étude historique e archéologique* (Paris, 1911) 434. Thanks to Herbert Kessler for bringing this to my attention.

Piscinula in Rome (c.1100-50),⁷⁷ S.Giovanni in Porta Latina in Rome (c.1191), S.Maria in Vescovio near Rome (1293-1297), and S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples (c.1317-23).⁷⁸ The program at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, including the Last Judgement, therefore falls within the long Roman tradition of church decoration.

In the Roman area, four surviving frescoes and one panel, each depicting the Last Judgement scene, predate S.Cecilia and must be considered as forming the matrix from which Cavallini's iconography for the Last Judgement scene developed.⁷⁹ The frescoes are: S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri, San Giovanni a Porta Latina, S.Nicola at Filettino (c.1220-1230) and the S.Silvestro Chapel in Ss.Quattro Coronati (1246).⁸⁰ The single panel painting is in the Vatican Museums, Inv. n.526, displayed in the Pinacoteca, and dated to the eleventh century. I will now examine these in turn before assessing their part in the tradition

⁷⁷ Fragments of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel indicate that an Old Testament cycle was once on the right wall of the nave and fragments of angels and saints suggest there was a Last Judgement scene on the reverse façade. S.Benedetto in Rome was on the list of Montecassino dependencies. MATTHIAE-GANDOLFO, 259; A. GUIGLIA GUIDOBALDI & G. BERTELLI, *San Benedetto in Piscinula* (Roma, 1979) 22, 55-62.

⁷⁸ Instead of Old and New Testament stories, the narrative cycles in S.Maria Donnaregina include the Passion of Christ and the life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary on the left wall of the choir, and the lives of saints Agnes and Catherine on the right wall. For Donnaregina see Chapter II.

⁷⁹ The Last Judgement scene in the nun's choir of S.Pietro in Vineis at Anagni, c.1256, because of its very unusual and experimental iconography, does not form part of this matrix. See below n.154 and Chapter II, n.316; A. BIANCHI, "Affreschi duecenteschi nel S.Pietro in Vineis in Anagni," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983), 379-384; S. ROMANO, "Gli affreschi di San Pietro in vineis," in *Il collegio Principe di Piemonte e la chiesa di S.Pietro 'in vineis'*, M. RAK, ed. (Rome, 1997) 101-116, pp.105-112.

⁸⁰ The latter two examples do not follow the tradition which places Old and New Testament cycles on the nave walls.

which informed the work of Cavallini.

VATICAN PANEL n.526, c.1061-1071

The Vatican panel n.526 is believed to be the earliest surviving Last Judgement scene in the Roman sphere.⁸¹ The panel, circular in shape with a rectangular extension at the bottom, and measuring 2.88m by 2.43m, belonged to the monastery of S.Maria in Campo Marzio and was first published in 1935 (I.10).⁸² The dating of the panel has been much discussed ever since.⁸³ In the rectangular extension two female donor figures kneel outside the walls of the bejewelled Celestial Jerusalem. They are named by inscriptions as "Benedicta Ancilla Dei" and "Constantia Abbatissa." From documents in the convent archive, Peri identified Constantia with an abbess of the convent of S.Maria in Campo

⁸¹ I would like to thank Arnold Nesselrath and Maurizio de Luca of the Vatican Museums for allowing me access to the panel while it was being restored, and especially Javier Barbasan, one of the restoration team, who shared technical information with me.

⁸² The panel was originally located in the oratory of San Gregorio Nazianzeno within the precincts of S.Maria. A pastoral visit in 1660 records the presence of two wooden altarpieces, one depicting the Last Judgement: ...duo extant altaria in tabulis ligneis, alterum...alterum a parte dextra, in quo Judicij universalis tempus pictum est...., in Vatican City, BAV, Ottob.2461, Miscellanea, II, f.352/352v, 354, published in V. PERI, "La Tavola Vaticana del Giudizio Universale. Nota sulla data e sul tema apocalittico," *APARA Rendiconti* 39 (1966-67) 161-186, p.172. The panel was first published by D. REDIG DE CAMPOS, "Sopra una tavola sconosciuta del secolo undicesimo rappresentante il Giudizio Universale," *APARA Rendiconti* 11 (1935) 139-156.

⁸³ For a summary of the arguments see E.B. GARRISON, "Dating the Vatican Last Judgement Panel: Monument versus Document," [1970] in E.B. GARRISON, *Early Italian Painting: Selected Studies*, 3 vols. (London, 1984) I, 153-192; F.W. VOLBACH, *I Dipinti dal X secolo fino a Giotto. Catalogo della Pinacoteca Vaticana I* (Vatican City, 1979) cat.n.3, 17-21, figs.28-33; J. BASCHET, *Les justices de l'au-delà: les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1993), 195, esp.n.165 (= BASCHET 1993a).

Marzio who ruled from 1061 until 1071, and thus dated the panel to that period.⁸⁴ Recent scholarship favours a date in the late eleventh century.⁸⁵

The Last Judgement scene is laid out in five registers. In the top register Christ is enthroned in a mandorla flanked by seraphim and angels. Christ appears again in the second register, standing in the *orans* position behind an altar on which are laid the instruments of his Passion. He is flanked by two archangels each holding an orb in one hand, and in the other hand, the scrolls on which are written the sentences of judgement (Matt. 25:34,41). On either side of these figures are the apostles, seated and turned slightly toward the centre. The position of Christ behind the altar signifies his role as both priest and sacrifice. Paeseler argued for a thirteenth century date for the Vatican panel on the basis that an image derived from the concept of *sacerdos et sacrificium* could not have appeared before the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been defined by the Fourth Lateran Council in

⁸⁴ PERI, 174. Suggesting a date for the panel in the late twelfth century, GARRISON, 158-160, proposed that the abbess, on the right, offering a model of a church, was probably a historical benefactor who, in the 11th century, built the conventual chapel for which the panel was made, and that Benedicta, on the left, offering an unidentified object with her veiled hands, was the later 12th-century patron of the panel itself.

⁸⁵ R. SUCKALE, "Methodisches zur Chronologie der römischen Malerei im Zeitalter der Gregorianischen Reform, insbesondere zur Einordnung der Weltgerichtstafel aus dem Nonnenkloster S.Maria in Campo Marzio," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, forthcoming, revives the dating associated with the abbess and provides additional stylistic and contextual evidence. I would like to thank Professor Dr. Suckale for kindly allowing me to read his manuscript before publication.

1215.⁸⁶ It has been shown, however, that this concept was already present in the writings of theologians long before that date.⁸⁷

In the third register we see a procession of the elect, led from the left toward the centre by St Paul. Preceding them is Dismas, the good thief, carrying his cross, a common feature in Byzantine Last Judgement scenes. The Virgin Mary appears in her role as intercessor, not together with John the Baptist flanking Christ, as is far more widely represented, but among the ranks of the blessed. This is the only surviving example of the Virgin located among the elect in a Central Italian Last Judgement scene prior to Giovanni Pisano's Pistoia (1298-1301) and Pisa (1302-1310) pulpits, and Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel (c.1305).

The right side of the third register is occupied by the three Acts of Mercy: giving refreshment to the thirsty, visiting the incarcerated, and clothing the naked. This register associates the procession of the elect at the time of the Last Judgement with the evocation of their earthly deeds as prescribed by Matt.25:34-36, thereby justifying their

⁸⁶ INNOCENTIUS PP. III, *Concilium Lateranense IV*, 1215, Constitutione 1: Una vero est fidelium universalis Ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur, in qua idem ipse sacerdos est sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divina.... in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, J. ALBERIGO ET AL., eds. (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1962) 206; H. DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum. Definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, I.B. UMBERG, ed., 26th ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1947) 199-200. See also W. PAESELER, "Die römische Weltgerichtstafel im Vatikan. Ihre Stellung in der Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes und in der römischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 2 (1938) 311-394, p.379.

⁸⁷ For example, the debates over Eucharistic doctrine involving Berengar of Tours (1010-1088) and Bruno di Segni (c.1050-1123). See H. HOFFMANN, "Bruno di Segni, santo," *DBI* 14 (1972) 644-647. For some 12th-century examples, see GARRISON I, 188-190.

election.⁸⁸ The group of smaller-scaled figures in the centre of the register, accompanied by St Stephen, is placed directly beneath the altar of the second register. The inscription in a book held aloft by one of the figures, "vin/dica sang/vine....," identifies them as the Innocents, those who wait under the altar until the Opening of the Fifth Seal for God's vengeance on their assassins (Rev.6:9-11). Stephen, as protomartyr, is associated with the Innocents.⁸⁹ In late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Last Judgement scenes Stephen commonly leads the procession of the blessed, but on this panel he acts as intercessor for the Innocents. Stephen and the Virgin flank the group of Innocents in a manner similar to *deesis* compositions. St Paul, at the left, in another unusual representation, leads the group of the elect. He holds a scroll on which the inscription, "canent/enim tu/ba et mor/tuire/surgunt," refers to the Resurrection on the fourth register below. On the left side of the fourth register the creatures of sea and land vomit forth the bones of the dead in the Byzantine manner, while on the right the western formula is used, in which souls rise from coffins at the sound of the trumpets. The prominence of saints Stephen and Paul led Redig de Campos to presume the panel was associated with a convent dedicated to St Stephen in the precincts of S.Paolo fuori le mura.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Matt.25:34-36: Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: / For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: / Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me. See below nn.93-94.

⁸⁹ JACOBUS DE VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, W.G. RYAN, trans., 2 vols. (Princeton, 1993) I, 49.

⁹⁰ REDIG DE CAMPOS, 153-154.

The lowest register of the panel, the rectangular extension which anticipates the thirteenth-century development of the *predella*, is divided between the representation of the Virgin and saints within the walls of Celestial Jerusalem (and the two donors outside the walls) and the representation of the fate of the wicked in the flames of Hell. In the latter, one chained figure is led towards Inferno by an angel while two other angels prod those who have already entered. Within the fiery Inferno, a large serpent bites the head of an unfortunate soul and the sins of the wicked are named in several inscriptions. The designation of sins by inscription gives the representation of Hell a moralizing perspective already apparent in the presence of the Acts of Mercy.⁹¹

The appearances of Christ as *sacerdos et sacrificium*, of the Virgin among the blessed, of St Stephen as intercessor replacing John the Baptist, of the Innocents below the altar, of St Paul in a double role, leading the blessed and sitting among the apostles on the right (instead of the left) hand of Christ, and of a donor portrait in a Last Judgement scene, are all features which do *not* appear in surviving Italian Last Judgement scenes in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Some of these iconographic features reappear, however, in Last Judgement scenes of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This phenomenon has led scholars to ascribe a later date to the Vatican panel, as late as the thirteenth century. It seems, rather, that a contraction of the iconography of the Last Judgement took place in the twelfth century followed by a revival of the older tradition in the late thirteenth century. The Last Judgement scene in S.Cecilia in Trastevere, it will be seen, belongs to this revival.

⁹¹ BASCHET 1993a, 197.

SANTA MARIA IMMACOLATA, CERI, c.1100-1130

The frescoes of S.Maria Immacolata in Ceri, north of Rome near Cerveteri (Map 1), have been dated c.1100-30 based on their striking similarity to those in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome dated c.1100.⁹² Of the Last Judgement scene on the reverse façade at Ceri, only a long, slim fragment remains, adjoining the right nave wall (I.11). Nevertheless, it is possible to discern the general composition of the fresco.

In the top register are angels; below them is the row of seated apostles, the left one holding a cross. The lowest register depicts female saints within the bejewelled walls of Heavenly Jerusalem in a manner similar to the lowest register, or predella extension, of the Vatican panel. Above it, on the third register at Ceri, are depicted three of the six Acts of Charity and Mercy described in Matt.25:34-36, the fulfillment of which ensures admission into Paradise: feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and visiting those in prison. Although Zchomelidse considers the depiction of the Acts of Mercy within a Last Judgement scene rare,⁹³ several examples survive from the late twelfth century onwards,

⁹² ZCHOMELIDSE 1996, 49. For the frescoes of the lower church of S.Clemente see J. OSBORNE, *Early Medieval Wall-Paintings in the Lower Church of S.Clemente, Rome* (New York, 1984).

⁹³ She attempts to explain their appearance at Ceri and on the Vatican panel, all too briefly, by reference to the writings of Bruno di Segni and Peter Damian, and to the significance of charity and mercy during the period of Gregorian Reform. *Ibid.*, 155-159; N.M. ZCHOMELIDSE, "Tradition and innovation in church decoration in Rome and Ceri around 1100," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 30 (1995) 7-26, pp.16-17.

in Basel, Parma and Strasbourg.⁹⁴ These examples suggest that images of the Last Judgement, logically accompanied by the Acts of Mercy according to the text of Matthew, were predominantly favoured in the north. The fact that the Vatican panel and the fresco at Ceri are among the earliest examples of this group, however, raises the possibility of a Roman origin for this iconographical formula. The Acts of Mercy, however, were not revived as part of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

SAN GIOVANNI A PORTA LATINA, c.1191

The decoration of S.Giovanni a Porta Latina has been connected with the reconsecration of the church by Celestine III in 1191. The Old

⁹⁴ ZCHOMELIDSE, 1996, 156-158, mentions the Parma Baptistery as the only other example associated with a Last Judgement scene, perhaps to keep her discussion within Italy. The Acts of Mercy appear among the portal sculptures of the Galluspforte in Basel, dated c.1180-1190, where the *Maestas domini* appears in the tympanum surrounded by the evangelists, trumpeting angels and souls rising from their tombs. Although there is no separation of the blessed and damned, allusion to the Last Judgement is unmistakable. No longer extant but originally close in date to the Galluspforte was the portal of the monastery of Petershausen near Lake Constance, where the Acts appeared alongside a Last Judgement. The six Acts are represented on the central pilaster of the west portal of the Baptistery in Parma, dated c.1200, where a Last Judgement scene appears in the lunette above the door, and the separation (still without Heaven and Hell) appears below it on the lintel. Fragments of the sculpted *jubé* from Strasbourg Münster, dated c.1250 and now held in the Musée de l'Oeuvre in Strasbourg and the Cloisters in New York, indicate that the Last Judgement scene occupied the central gable atop the western face of the *jubé*, flanked by the Acts of Mercy in the eight other gables. On the portal relief program of the church of S.Maria della Salute in Viterbo, dated 1318-1321, the Acts appear on the jambs and the blessed are depicted in the upper area of the archivolt. The tympanum is now bare but may have once held an image of the Last Judgement. For a fuller discussion of the Acts of Mercy see W.R. LEVIN, *Studies in the Imagery of Mercy in Late Medieval Italian Art*, 3 vols., PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983, I, 48-163.

Testament cycle, which begins on the right nave wall at the apse end, continues across the entrance wall, and then along the left nave wall returning to the apse.⁹⁵ Two registers of New Testament scenes follow the same pattern, but only along the nave walls. The Last Judgement scene occupies the space below the scenes of Cain and Abel on the reverse façade (I.12). This position lends to the Last Judgment scene a narrative effect, emphasizing that the events of the Last Days are the culmination of the history of the world, and lead to the fulfillment of the promise of salvation.⁹⁶

In the Last Judgement, Christ is enthroned within a mandorla below the central window and oculus. His head, now missing, was once mounted on wood or canvas and attached to the wall by hooks as are the heads of Christ and Mary of the Crucifixion scene on the right wall.⁹⁷ The mandorla rests upon an altar on which are laid the instruments of the Passion. Christ is flanked by two frontally-posed archangels holding orbs and scrolls on which are written the sentences of judgement. Two angels in white robes occupy the remaining space on either side. There are no traces of lower registers, no tribunal of apostles, no processions of elect and damned, no Heaven and Hell.

⁹⁵ For the frescoes of S.Giovanni see G. MATTHIAE ET AL., *S.Giovanni a Porta Latina e l'Oratorio di S.Giovanni in Oleo* (Rome, n.d.) 11-15.

⁹⁶ See M. MANION, "The Frescoes of S.Giovanni a Porta Latina: the Shape of a Tradition," *Australian Journal of Art* 1 (1978) 93-109, pp.104-106.

⁹⁷ At the Lateran, under Nicholas IV, a bust of Christ of antique origin was inserted in the newly constructed apse. Perhaps this was a tradition enjoyed by the Lateran canons to whom S.Giovanni a Porta Latina was annexed in 1144. *Ibid.*, 93, 104, 107; Y. CHRISTE, "Le decor absidal de Saint-Jean du Latran," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 20 (1970) 197-206.

S.Giovanni belongs to a group of 'abbreviated' Last Judgements, including those in the Parma Baptistery and the S.Silvestro Chapel in Rome, which precede Cavallini's revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene.⁹⁸

SAN NICOLA, FILETTINO, c.1220-1230

The church of S.Nicola in Filettino, in the diocese of Anagni, is a funerary church surrounded by a cemetery (Map 1). It is one of the oldest buildings in the area and local legend maintains that it was one of the twelve monasteries founded in the Aniene valley by Saint Benedict (c.480-550) while he was living at Subiaco.⁹⁹ The structure of the present church consists of a single barrel-vaulted nave divided by four transverse arches into five bays of unequal length. The east end has no apse. The present entrance to the church is in the middle of the south wall with an altar placed opposite the door. Exterior evidence of an addition to the west end of the building and an arch-shaped crack in the plaster of the interior façade of the west wall indicate that originally the entrance was in its usual place at the west end.

In the interior, in the central section of the vault, at the summit, is a series of three medallions containing busts of archangels (I.13), below which, separated by a painted ornamental frieze, are the representations of seated apostles and trumpeting angels (I.14, I.15).

⁹⁸ MANION, 106; BASCHET 1993a, 202. The Galluspforte and Petershausen portals also belong to this group. The selection of iconographic elements is not always consistent.

⁹⁹ F. CARAFFA, *Storia di Filettino*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Anagni, 1989) I, 43.

Originally there were six apostles on either side of the nave but the westernmost apostle has been lost from the south wall. Both rows of apostles face east towards the two angels. These frescoes have been dated c.1220-1230 based on stylistic connections with other frescoes in the southern Lazio region, particularly with those in the crypt at Anagni and in the S.Silvestro Chapel in Rome.¹⁰⁰ It has also been proposed that the decoration of this group of monuments has stylistic connections with the twelfth-century mosaics of Monreale and Palermo.¹⁰¹ Thus S.Nicola at Filettino belongs within the long tradition of 'Byzantinized' painting in Lazio.

The apostles and the angels with their trumpets in S.Nicola have been generally considered to form part of a once-larger Last Judgement scene which, it is believed, would have included a central image of Christ as Judge.¹⁰² What is not clear is where the central image of

¹⁰⁰ The mosaic of the Pentecost in S.Maria di Grottaferrata, dated c.1200; the frescoes of the S.Gregorio chapel in the monastery of Sacro Speco at Subiaco, dated 1228; the work of the Maestro Ornatista in the crypt at Anagni, dated c.1231-1255; and the frescoes of the S.Silvestro Chapel in SS.Quattro Coronati in Rome, dated 1246. First to remark on the connections was P. TOESCA, "Gli affreschi della Cattedrale di Anagni," in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane* 5 (1902) 116-187. See also F. HERMANIN *L'arte in Roma del sec. VII al XIV*, (Bologna, 1945) 282; O. DEMUS, *Romanische Wandmalerei* (Munich, 1968) 125-126; MATTHIAE-GANDOLFO, 295; M. LIVERANI, "Contributo allo studio della pittura medievale nel Lazio. Affreschi a Filettino," *Commentari* 19 (1968) 40-51, pp.46-49; B. ANDBERG, "Gli affreschi di San Nicola a Filettino," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 4 (1969) 127-142, p.138; M. BOSKOVITS, "Gli affreschi del Duomo di Anagni: un capitolo di pittura romana," *Paragone Arte* 30, 357 (1979) 3-41, pp.9-10.

¹⁰¹ DEMUS 1949, 453; J. MITCHELL, "St Silvester and Constantine at the Ss.Quattro Coronati," in *Federico II* (1980) II, 15-32, pp.30-31; V. PACE, "La chiesa abbaziale di Grottaferrata e la sua decorazione nel medioevo," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 41 (1987) 47-87, p.63.

¹⁰² ANDBERG, 130, suggests that the apostles illustrate the text of Matt.19:28.

Christ-Judge might have been located. Since the apostles look towards the east, we should expect to find the image of Christ in that direction. Andberg, citing Hermanin, suggests the east wall as the probable location of Christ. There is, however, no trace of it.¹⁰³ Liverani proposes that the third transverse arch abutting the frescoes of the apostles is the remains of a wall that once carried the missing image; according to her, traces of paint were still visible on the arch in 1968.¹⁰⁴ Without an architectural survey, however, this opinion remains speculative. But if correct, that wall would have been the apse wall and the barrel vault bearing the fresco of the apostles would have been, not the central bay of the nave, but the presbytery. The apostles would thus have been more logically situated in the most sacred space.

Two iconographical features of the S.Nicola fresco are particularly intriguing. The first is the appearance of the apostles carrying the instruments of their martyrdom, in addition to or instead of, the usual book or scroll. St Peter carries both the keys of the Church and the cross of his martyrdom. Apostles depicted with their attributes is an iconographical feature which developed in the thirteenth century in the façade sculptures of French cathedrals, such as on the west portal at Amiens cathedral and the south transept portal at Chartres, both dated

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 130, suggests that earlier restorations (1922, 1951, 1971) may have destroyed all traces of the fresco, or that the image might have been represented on an independent panel, now lost. HERMANIN 1945, 280, assumes that there was once an image of Christ-Judge, the Virgin and St John. He does not, however, mention the precise location, nor does he give any evidence for this.

¹⁰⁴ LIVERANI, 41. The third arch differs from the others in springing directly from the wall rather than from pilasters.

c.1220.¹⁰⁵ This presumably French motif was believed to have made its first appearance in Italy in 1293 at S.Cecilia in Trastevere.¹⁰⁶ However, in the fragmentary Last Judgement scene in the church of S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri, dated c.1100-1130, an apostle can be seen carrying the cross of his martyrdom (I.11), providing the only evidence for a pre-thirteenth-century Roman tradition of the depiction of the apostles with the instruments of their martyrdom.

The second iconographic intrigue at Filettino is the placement of St Andrew in the spot usually reserved for St Paul.¹⁰⁷ This has been likened to the prominent position of Andrew in twelfth-century scenes of the Pentecost at Monreale and Grottaferrata, monuments to which the Filettino frescoes have also been compared stylistically. Kitzinger proposes that although the Pentecost represents the descent of the Holy Spirit it may also have implied the Second Coming of Christ.¹⁰⁸ The interchangeability of the Pentecost and Last Judgement clearly informs

¹⁰⁵ E. MÂLÉ, *Religious Art in France: the Thirteenth Century. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, H. BOBER, ed. (Princeton, 1984), 308-309 charts the representation of the apostles with their attributes in several French locations. Peter is found with both keys and cross at Chartres and Amiens. A Byzantine example of Peter with multiple attributes can be found in the St Peter icon in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, dated to the third quarter of the 13th century. K. WEITZMANN, *The St Peter Icon in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, 1983).

¹⁰⁶ HETHERINGTON 1979, 44.

¹⁰⁷ The apostles in S.Nicola at Filettino are identified by inscriptions. The group on the north wall is led by St Peter. He is followed by John the Evangelist, St James Major, St Mathias, St Thomas and St James Minor. On the south wall St Andrew leads the group, followed by Saints Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew and Simon.

¹⁰⁸ E. KITZINGER, "The mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo: an essay on the choice and arrangement of subjects," *AB* 31 (1949) 269-292, p.278, uses texts and Byzantine pictorial cycles to demonstrate that scenes of Pentecost and Last Judgement were interchangeable in Byzantine art.

the iconography of the mosaic on the chancel arch at S.Maria di Grottaferrata (Map 1). Here the apostles are enthroned in a manner akin to that of the college of judges in a Last Judgement scene (I.16). In the centre is an *etimasia*, the throne which awaits the Second Coming of Christ in Byzantine Last Judgement scenes.¹⁰⁹ At the base of the *etimasia* is the Lamb of God within a medallion.¹¹⁰ This would be taken for a Last Judgement scene were it not for the rays of the Holy Spirit which reach out from a central celestial hemisphere above the *etimasia* to touch each of the apostles in reference to the Pentecost events described in Acts 2:1-4. Latin verses which once accompanied the Grottaferrata scene, accepted as contemporary with the mosaic by Wilpert and Kitzinger, referred to the apostles as dispensers of judgement, thus again connecting the Pentecost and Last Judgement.¹¹¹ Perhaps the fresco of the apostles in S.Nicola at Filettino should be read simultaneously as Last Judgement and Pentecost, inspired by the Byzantine tradition and by the mosaic at nearby Grottaferrata, in order to explain the unusual position of St Andrew.

The head of St Peter at Filettino is remarkably similar to that of the bronze statue of the saint in St Peter's basilica (I.17, I.18).¹¹² The

¹⁰⁹ For the origins and development of the throne iconography see F. VAN DER MEER, *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Rome, 1938) 223-240.

¹¹⁰ The *etimasia* is an 18th-century speculation recreated to fill a lacuna, but the Lamb at its base was restored from a surviving fragment and thus is original to the composition. G. MATTHIAE, "Mosaici dell'Abbazia di Grottaferrata," *APARA Rendiconti* 42 (1969-70) 267-282, pp.268-269.

¹¹¹ ...caetus apostolicus residens cum iudice (Christo) / praemia iudicio meritis decernit in isto.... *Ibid.*, 270-271, 278 n.55.

¹¹² I am grateful to Valentino Pace for drawing my attention to the similarities.

long square face, the long carefully angled nose, the deeply shadowed eyes, the furrowed brow between thick broadly-arched eyebrows, and the particular type of individual curls of the hair are strikingly similar.¹¹³ There is no secure date for the bronze but technical analysis has suggested a date between 1265 and 1379.¹¹⁴ Its stylistic resemblance to the Filettino fresco, nevertheless, is suggestive of a connection with the workshop tradition of early thirteenth-century Lazio. It is notable, among the works mentioned in connection with Filettino, that the decoration of the S.Gregorio chapel in Subiaco was commissioned by Pope Gregory IX of Anagni,¹¹⁵ and the frescoes of the crypt of the cathedral in Anagni, closely linked stylistically with Filettino, are also connected with his papacy.¹¹⁶ The patron of the S.Silvestro Chapel frescoes, Stefano Conti, was also from the Anagni region, and as we shall see, well-connected in the Curia. While the origins of the bronze statue of St Peter are unknown, Romanini claims

¹¹³ Differences may be due to the different media employed and certainly to differences of stylistic convention by the end of the 13th century. The furrow between the eyebrows is treated more naturalistically in the bronze, with vertical ridges rather than the curved line typical of Romanesque painting. The sharpest contrast is in the treatment of the beard where the bronze version continues the curls of the head and does not produce the sort of double swirl on the chin as in the painted version.

¹¹⁴ A.M. ROMANINI, "Nuovi dati sulla statua bronzea di San Pietro in Vaticano," *Arte Medievale* 4, 2 (1990) 1-50, pp.11, 16-46. The statue may contain metals from different periods, making it very difficult to assign a date.

¹¹⁵ The decoration is dated by an inscription below the fresco depicting the consecration of the chapel by Gregory IX in 1228. TOESCA, 141.

¹¹⁶ Filettino lay within the diocese of Anagni which was an important political and religious centre in the 13th century. Anagni was often the seat of the Curia and was the home town of several popes, among them Gregory IX (1227-1241) of the Conti family.

it as a work of Arnolfo di Cambio and Pace has suggested the possibility that it may have been commissioned for the first Jubilee in 1300 by Boniface VIII, who was another pope from Anagni.¹¹⁷ Filettino's stylistic connections with other Latian monuments, its location within the diocese of Anagni, and the high quality of its frescoes suggest that the tiny church of S.Nicola at Filettino may also be a product of a high level of curial patronage centred in Anagni in the first half of the thirteenth century.

SAN SILVESTRO CHAPEL, SANTI QUATTRO CORONATI, 1246

The S.Silvestro Chapel was built as a palace chapel in a fortified building alongside the monastery of Ss.Quattro Coronati in Rome. The fortress was intended to house and protect its patron, Stefano Conti, who was Cardinal Presbyter of S.Maria in Trastevere and *vicarius urbis* of Rome in the absence of Pope Innocent IV during the long years throughout which the imperial forces of Frederick II threatened the city.¹¹⁸ Conti was a nephew of Innocent III and a more distant relative of Gregory IX.¹¹⁹ The chapel was dedicated to St Sylvester by Rainaldus, Bishop of Ostia, two weeks before Easter 1246.¹²⁰ The political message of the decorative program in the chapel is the affirmation of papal authority over the emperor, granted by the first

¹¹⁷ V. PACE, "Questioni arnolfiane: l'Antico e la Francia," *ZfKg* 54 (1991) 335-373, pp.371-373.

¹¹⁸ MITCHELL, 15.

¹¹⁹ W. MALECZEK, "Conti, Stefano (Stephanus Comes)," *DBI* 28 (1983) 475-478.

¹²⁰ MITCHELL, 15-17.

Christian emperor himself.¹²¹

The Last Judgement scene in the San Silvestro Chapel is represented in an abbreviated form on only one register above the portal of the interior façade (I.19). Christ appears enthroned in the centre, at the greatest height of the lunette space formed by the barrel-vaulted ceiling, and fills the entire height of the register. He is immediately flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, who are represented on a smaller scale. Even smaller is the representation of the row of apostles extending on either side. Christ sits upon a backless throne on which the instruments of the Passion are also placed. In this manner the enthroned Christ-Judge is combined with the Byzantine *etimasia*. The throne, usually empty but for the instruments, and thus prepared for the Second Coming of the Saviour in Byzantine representations of the Last Judgement, is here occupied by Christ himself.

The disposition of the Last Judgement in the S.Silvestro Chapel is reminiscent of that in S.Giovanni a Porta Latina in that it shares the entrance wall with scenes from a narrative cycle which continues along the nave walls. The Legend of Constantine and Silvester, however, begins unusually on the entrance wall beneath the Last Judgement. It is significant that the scene which appears directly below the throne of Christ is the Dream of Constantine, where Saints Peter and Paul appear to the suffering Emperor Constantine and direct him to Pope Silvester. In keeping with the political message of papal spiritual and political superiority throughout the Constantine-Silvester cycle, Peter, the first

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 30-32. For the contemporary political context of the S.Silvestro frescoes see COLLINS, 281-285.

pope, and Paul, a convert, who together represent the Roman Church, are the indicators to the Emperor of the road to his salvation through Christ's terrestrial representative, the exiled Pope. In spite of its abbreviated form, the S.Silvestro Last Judgement, like that in S.Giovanni, conveys its promise of retribution through juxtaposition with the narrative scenes. In the S.Silvestro Chapel retribution is made all the more immediate by the presence of Christ seated directly on the usually empty throne, indicating his imminent return at the Second Coming to pass judgement on mankind.

SANTA CECILIA'S LAST JUDGEMENT AND ITS PREDECESSORS

Cavallini's Last Judgement scene, therefore, follows a lengthy tradition of Roman examples of the theme which mix both Byzantine and western iconography. The basic formula includes Christ prominently enthroned within a mandorla and flanked by twelve apostles.¹²² The scene is usually divided into horizontal registers, trumpeters announce the General Resurrection, and the Virgin appears as intercessor. In the remaining fragment of the Last Judgement at S.Cecilia, the enthroned Christ is flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist forming a *deesis* (I.6, I.7). The *deesis* is of Byzantine origin but already by the twelfth century this configuration is commonly found in western Last Judgement

¹²² There is no mandorla in the San Silvestro chapel; nevertheless Christ dominates the scene by the scale of his representation. The dominance of Christ is an element of western iconography dating back to Sant'Angelo in Formis (c.1180-90) and the Michaelskapelle of the church of Sankt Georg in Oberzell auf der Reichenau (c.1100).

iconography.¹²³

Directly below Christ's mandorla in Cavallini's Last Judgement a large cross stands in front of an altar on which instruments of the Passion are displayed (I.20). The altar beneath the mandorla of Christ takes the place of the *etimasia* of Byzantine representations and relates to developments in Eucharistic devotion in which Christ is seen as both priest and sacrifice, ie. *sacerdos et sacrificium*. The tops of tiny heads are visible below Cavallini's depiction of the altar, indicating the souls of the Holy Innocents, alluding to the Opening of the Fifth Seal and the Innocents' cry for God's vengeance at the Last Judgement.¹²⁴ The Innocents appear below the altar on the eleventh-century Vatican panel, clothed in a variety of colours and accompanied by St Stephen. They do not appear again in any surviving painting until c.1250-1255 when they reappear in a different context, within an Apocalyptic cycle in the crypt of the cathedral at Anagni. There the altar appears in the scene of the Opening of the Fifth Seal (I.21). Christ stands behind the altar, upon which stands the Apocalyptic Lamb of God, and the naked souls of the Innocents plead from below for vengeance. In a later fresco of the Last Judgement in the church of S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples (c.1317-1323),

¹²³ John the Evangelist replaces the Baptist as co-intercessor with the Virgin in most northern Gothic Last Judgement scenes, as in, for example, the portals of the cathedrals of Chartres (south transept), Paris and Amiens.

¹²⁴ Rev.6:9-11: And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held: / And they cried with a loud voice saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? / And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow servants also and their brethern, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

within a program with strong Apocalyptic overtones, the Innocents appear again clothed in white robes according to scripture (II.10).

At S.Cecilia, below the main register of Christ-Judge and his apostles, to the left and right of the altar, trumpeting angels announce the General Resurrection. The blessed and damned are separated and led by angels to their respective fates. Interesting, in connection with the Vatican panel, is the fact that the group of elect in Cavallini's fresco is led by Saints Stephen and Lawrence (I.22). While Stephen's position in relation to the Innocents is different in the cases of the Vatican panel and Cavallini's fresco, in both he takes on the role of intercessor, although in S.Cecilia he does not supersede John the Baptist. In the Vatican panel, however, St Stephen and the Innocents are directly below the altar, closer in distance to Christ than is the Virgin Mary. The particular veneration of St Stephen in Rome was probably due to the presence of his relics in S.Lorenzo fuori le mura, where thirteenth-century cycles of the lives of both Stephen and Lawrence still remain.¹²⁵

At S.Cecilia the apostles carry the instruments of their martyrdom, an expression of the general interest in the lives and deaths of the saints (I.6, I.7).¹²⁶ As mentioned above, this motif has been thought to be dependent on developments in French cathedral façade sculpture; but

¹²⁵ D.H. FARMER, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1978) 361; KAFTAL G., *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, *Saints in Italian Art 1* (Florence, 1952) cat.n.378, cols.1057-1072. (= KAFTAL I)

¹²⁶ For the lives and deaths of the saints as they were known c.1260 see JACOBUS DE VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend*. In S.Cecilia some of the apostles are identified by fragmentary inscriptions, the rest by conjecture. On the right, led by St Peter, are John the Evangelist, Thomas, James the Less, Simon and Jude. Following Paul on the left are Andrew, James the Greater, Philip, Bartholomew and Matthew. See HETHERINGTON 1979, 43.

the appearance of the apostles with their attributes in S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri (c.1100-1130) and in S.Nicola at Filettino (c.1220-1230) indicates a long Roman tradition of the theme. No identifications can be made for Ceri, but at Filettino St Paul does not appear among the apostles and St Peter is represented there with the unusual combination of the keys of the Church and the cross of his martyrdom (I.14, I.15, I.17).¹²⁷ Neither does Cavallini's portrayal of James the Less with a fuller's club correspond to that at Filettino where he appears with a grape-press.¹²⁸ The instruments assigned, however, to saints Andrew, Bartholomew, John the Evangelist, James the Great, and Thomas are consistent in both S.Nicola and S.Cecilia.¹²⁹ Clearly Cavallini's apostles do not depend exclusively on either those at Filettino nor those at Amiens and he must have relied on other models. Among the Last Judgement scenes discussed to this point, none can be said to depend directly on another, although certain motifs are widespread. This is strong evidence for a long and varied tradition in Rome which unfortunately has been lost to us. However, the partial correspondence of the attributes of Cavallini's apostles to those at Amiens and Chartres, and S.Cecilia's patronage by a French cardinal, nevertheless suggest that the impetus for the representation of this feature in S.Cecilia may indeed have been French.

¹²⁷ See above n.105.

¹²⁸ James the Less with the fuller's club corresponds to both Chartres and Amiens.

¹²⁹ All of these but Thomas agree with the iconography at Amiens cathedral. The remaining apostles are assigned various attributes, none consistent with the others. Their martyrdoms were not known and a consistent iconography had not yet been developed.

CAVALLINI'S INNOVATIONS AT SANTA CECILIA

The iconography, then, of the Last Judgement scene at S.Cecilia in Trastevere follows a formula well-established in the Roman tradition. Cavallini's innovations at S.Cecilia, on the other hand, lie in his subtle use of colour and composition and his representation of light to create an illusion of space. Also innovative is his incorporation of contemporary theological currents within his composition. In this section of the chapter we shall see how and why the Last Judgement in S.Cecilia in Trastevere stands at the beginning of a period of transition, in the patronage of the scene as well as in the iconography and formal composition of the Last Judgement scene.

Cavallini eliminates the bands which usually divide Last Judgement compositions into strict horizontal registers. He uses a limited and subdued palette and alternates the colours of the costumes of the apostles to create a balanced rhythm of blues, violets and pinks across the wall, without matching them in a particular pattern (I.6, I.7). The monumental appearance of his figures is the result of his use of low-contrast highlighting in broad areas rather than in narrow areas following the folds of the fabrics. His brushstrokes follow the contours of cheeks and fabric and seem to model the figures with light instead of with paint, so as to give the impression of multiple transparent layers, particularly effective in the rich red-brown mantle of Christ (I.23, I.24).¹³⁰ The thrones of the apostles and Christ are tilted forward and the torsos of the apostles elongated to compensate for the distance

¹³⁰ P. HILLS, *The Light of Early Italian Painting* (New Haven, 1987) 40, for a similar but more detailed and technical discussion.

of the viewer standing on the floor of the nave. The processions in the second register, of which only the tops remain, are organized to sharply define the space which they occupy. As can be seen in the reconstructions, the blessed climb upward toward Christ and the damned slope downward toward the fires of Hell, punctuated by immense guiding angels (I.25).

Cavallini also uses light as an iconographical feature of the composition of the west wall of S.Cecilia as has been revealed by the 1979-80 restoration of the frescoes. Both Wilpert and Paeseler had suggested that the remaining traces of a larger aureole above that of Christ-Judge had enclosed a second figure of Christ (I.25). Wilpert's theory was based on the Second Coming of Christ from Matthew 24:30 and 25:31-46, believing that Cavallini fashioned a dual depiction of Christ, returning in glory above, and appearing as Judge in the lower mandorla, to correspond with scripture.¹³¹ Paeseler's reconstruction was influenced by the dual image of Christ on the Vatican panel n.526, which had been recently published and was understood to be the key to late medieval Last Judgement iconography in Rome and Lazio.¹³² Both scholars acknowledged the possibility, which the evidence of the restoration now confirms, that the larger, upper mandorla enclosed a circular window.¹³³ The restoration report states that the Carolingian facade had three arched windows and that a round window replaced the central aperture before 1588, presumably during or immediately before

¹³¹ J. WILPERT, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der Kirchlichen Bauten von IV bis XIII Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916-17) II, II, 1042-1063; IV, II, Pls.279-296.

¹³² PAESELER 1938, 373-375.

¹³³ WILPERT II, II, 1503; PAESELER 1938, 376.

the work of Cavallini. This rose window was removed and the aperture closed in the eighteenth century. Traces of sinopia indicate that there were two groups of angels beside the left window; the visible traces of sinopia beside the right window are no longer legible.¹³⁴

Hetherington, writing a decade before the restoration of the frescoes, adhered to the notion of a second figure of Christ in the upper aureole, but nevertheless came close to the final solution in his discussion of Cavallini's system of lighting in the Last Judgement:

The source of light is thought of as a divided one, falling from the sides of the composition towards the middle, as though the events of the Last Judgement were lit by the light from the nave windows; these are just above the apostles' zone, and are in fact in line with the figure in the glory above the judging Christ. It would be entirely consistent with Cavallini's feeling for the monumentality of a subject that not only should such factors as the light have a unifying part to play in the work, but that this should also emphasize the focus of the whole composition, and so play an iconographic as well as aesthetic rôle.¹³⁵

The light from a central round window above the figure of the judging Christ and in line with the nave windows would have complemented the painted light which falls from the sides towards the middle. This would certainly have made light an iconographic feature of the composition. The fact that an arched window was replaced by a circular one is in itself evidence of an awareness of the symbolic significance carried by a rose window; the circle was believed to be the perfect shape, representative of the cosmos, and it is the usual shape

¹³⁴ P. ROVIGATTI SPAGNOLETTI-ZEULI, "Ricostruzione iconografica del Giudizio finale di S.Cecilia: considerazioni dopo il restauro," in *Restauri agli Affreschi del Cavallini a Roma* (Rome, 1987) 44-49, p.49; D. AND C. GIANTOMASSI, "S.Cecilia in Trastevere: relazione di restauro," in *Idem.*, 9-37, Figs.23-25.

¹³⁵ HETHERINGTON 1979, 50.

of the aureole which surrounds innumerable images of Christ.¹³⁶ It is also the shape of the haloes which traditionally adorn the heads of the saints. Cavallini used molded gesso to raise the surface of his haloes from the wall and to tilt them toward the viewer, each in a ridged pattern of light rays resulting in the heightened reflection of light from the gold leaf or gold paint applied to the surface. In association with light, the circle had already been used to great effect in the Gothic cathedrals of France, where, for example at Amiens (1220-30), Paris (c.1230) and Chartres (south transept, c.1220), rose windows appear above the portals on whose central tympana are sculpted Last Judgement scenes. At S.Maria Maggiore in Rome, a rose window was installed probably between 1292 and 1297 during the renovation of the façade. As noted by Gardner, the fragment of a lamb on the reverse façade suggests that this wall too was decorated as part of Nicholas IV's campaign, and that the theme was probably the Last Judgement, again in association with a rose window.¹³⁷

In the thirteenth century light was thought to have a corporeal existence and was categorized, according to the Scholastic tendency, into different types. The Latin word *lux*, or *luce* in Italian, refers to light as a source and as a substance; *lumen*, or *lume*, is the diffusion or radiation of light. As Hills points out, there seems to be a connection between workshop practices and thirteenth-century theories on the visual

¹³⁶ The aureole was often oval or almond-shaped, hence *mandorla*, but this did not alter its significance.

¹³⁷ J. GARDNER, "Pope Nicholas IV and the decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore," *ZfKg* 36 (1973) 1-50, pp.20-28, Figs.17, 19, 20. (= GARDNER 1973b).

manifestation of light.¹³⁸ Three major optical treatises were written at or presented to the papal court at Viterbo between 1265 and 1280, initially encouraged by French pope Clement IV. The diffusion of knowledge of optical effects may have contributed to the revival of monumental painting in Rome and Assisi under Nicholas III.¹³⁹ The connection between the properties of light and artistic practice, however, can be noted already in the twelfth century when Abbot Suger redesigned St-Denis in Paris so that it "would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most sacred windows, pervading the interior beauty."¹⁴⁰ His accomplishment was made possible by technical advances, not only structural, but also in the handling of the light. New techniques were developed for stained glass windows which indicate a sophisticated knowledge of the interaction of light and colour.¹⁴¹

Suger's preoccupation with the spiritual significance of light was influenced by the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite.¹⁴² Pseudo-Dionysius was mistakenly identified with St-Denis, first bishop

¹³⁸ For light and the theories of optics according to 13th-century scholars, see HILLS, 11-28 and 64-71.

¹³⁹ The properties of direct and indirect light and their effect on colour are discussed in the treatises of Roger Bacon, Witelo, and John Pecham. See *Ibid.*, 64-67.

¹⁴⁰ SUGER, ABBOT, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures*, E. PANOFSKY, ed., trans. (Princeton, 1948) 101.

¹⁴¹ M. CAVINESS, *Stained Glass Windows* (Turnhout, 1996), 39-56.

¹⁴² Dionysius was a 5th- or 6th-century Greek writer whose works were preserved in monastic libraries in the west. A 9th century manuscript of his *Commentary on St John* is at Laon, from which, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the masters of the cathedral school at Laon introduced excerpts into the *Sentences* and *Glosses*, by which route the ideas of Dionysius reached Peter Lombard and others. J. LECLERCQ, "Influence and Noninfluence of Dionysius in the Western Middle Ages," in *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works* (New York, 1987) 25-32, p.27.

of Paris, and his writings were therefore held dear by Suger and by the French kings whose dynasty had been long associated with the abbey church of St-Denis. Among the commentators on the text who helped spread the influence of Pseudo-Dionysius in Italy was the Parisian Victorine Thomas Gallus, who became abbot of the Italian monastery of S.Andrea at Vercelli.¹⁴³ Jean Cholet, titular cardinal of S.Cecilia in Trastevere from 1281 until 1292 and presumed patron of Cavallini's frescoes, mentions in his will the Pseudo-Dionysius text which he had borrowed from St-Denis.¹⁴⁴ Pseudo-Dionysius postulated an ordered universe with hierarchical substrata in which the Trinity was the primal source. This source he equated with light. Moreover, God provided nine designations for the heavenly beings (already named in the Bible) which Dionysius divided into three threefold groups.¹⁴⁵ These may well have influenced Cavallini. In his Last Judgement at S.Cecilia the loss of the upper aureole prevents accurate knowledge of the total number of angels which supported Christ and the divine light above. It is clear, however, that different ranks of angels are

¹⁴³ Hugh of Saint-Victor edited two commentaries on the *De hierarchia celesti* of Pseudo-Dionysius between 1125 and 1137. In the next century, the Franciscan Robert Grosseteste and the Dominican Albertus Magnus both wrote translations of and commentaries on *The Celestial Hierarchy*, thus setting an example followed by Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. *Ibid.*, 27-28.

¹⁴⁴ Cholet's will (Item 141) refers to the *De hierarchia celesti* and *De hierarchia ecclesiastica* of Pseudo-Dionysius, reproduced in A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *I Testamenti dei cardinali del duecento* (Rome, 1980), 265: Item Gerarchias, in duobus voluminibus, quas habeo a monasterio Sancti Dyonisii restitui iubeo.

¹⁴⁵ The first is found immediately around God, requiring no intermediary, receiving enlightenment directly from God, and consisting of the most holy thrones, cherubim, and seraphim. The second consists of authorities, dominions, and powers. To the third belong angels, archangels, and principalities. *De hierarchia celesti*, VI, 200D-201A, in *Pseudo-Dionysius. The Complete Works* (New York, 1987) 160-161.

designated (I.26).¹⁴⁶ The angels which once held aloft the upper aureole enclosing the rose window which was the source of light and symbol of divine wisdom, probably belonged to the first hierarchy: seraphim, cherubim or thrones.¹⁴⁷

Unlike Cavallini's technical innovations, which are drawn from the antique-early Christian tradition, his iconographic innovations at S.Cecilia are mainly French-influenced. In addition to the introduction of a rose window and his experimentation with light effects and symbolism, the painted fictive Gothic trilobe niches with standing saints between the clerestory windows in S.Cecilia (I.4, I.5) are also derived from French cathedral sculpture. The niches were designed to complement the gables, crockets and tracery of Arnolfo's *ciborium* over the high altar (I.2).¹⁴⁸ The motif of the standing saints in niches was new in Central Italy; its only surviving predecessors appear in the chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum of Nicholas III and in the right transept of the upper church of St Francis at Assisi, where a non-Italian painter

¹⁴⁶ Christ is flanked by two archangels on either side, above which is another type, perhaps seraphim, recognizable by the warm colour and flame-like quality of their wings as being associated with fire (from the Hebrew, "fire-makers"). The angels with scrolls flanking Christ's feet (the one on the right has been lost) belong to the lowest rank of the third order: the messengers who communicate the divine enlightenment to human beings. P. ROREM, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the texts and an introduction to their influence* (Oxford, 1993) 60, 63.

¹⁴⁷ Cherubim are designated by God as an outpouring of knowledge or wisdom. The title "thrones" is related to the literal throne elevated above this world; thrones bear God and are ever open, like servants, to welcome him. *Ibid.*, 64.

¹⁴⁸ French elements in the work of Arnolfo may be explained by his presence in Rome in the service of Charles I Anjou from at least 1277. J. GARDNER, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," *BM* 115 (1973) 420-439, p.423 (= GARDNER 1973a); J. GARDNER, *The Tomb and the Tiara: Curial Tomb Sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 95-97.

is believed to have been active.¹⁴⁹ But Cavallini's innovations, as noted above, also include distinct thematic borrowings: the entire decorative program at S.Cecilia is pervaded by the theme of the cult of saints, with the *ciborium* representing all the Martyrs whose relics are venerated in the church, and with the fictive niches framing the representations of Holy Virgins, Prophets and Martyrs.¹⁵⁰ This emphasis, typical of French Gothic cathedrals, has been linked to the succession of French titular cardinals of S.Cecilia, particularly Simon de Brion and Jean Cholet.¹⁵¹

The interval between the frescoes of the S.Silvestro Chapel (1246) and those painted by Cavallini (1293) saw the introduction, or re-introduction, into Central Italian compositions of both decorative motifs and iconographic elements commonly used in thirteenth-century French church decoration. This evidently was the result of several historical events: the establishment of the Angevin court at Naples in 1266 (preceded by the nomination of Charles I Anjou as Senator of Rome by Urban IV in 1263); the influx of French cardinals who were appointed by a series of French popes;¹⁵² and the diffusion of papal policy and

¹⁴⁹ J. GARDNER, "Nicholas III's Oratory of the Sancta Sanctorum and its Decoration," *BM* 115 (1973) 283-294, p.293 (= GARDNER, 1973c); J. GARDNER, "The French Connection: thoughts about French patrons and Italian art, c. 1250-1300," in *Art and politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500*, C.M. ROSENBERG, ed. (Notre Dame, IN., 1990) 81-102, p.92.

¹⁵⁰ See above n.43.

¹⁵¹ ROMANO 1988, 116-119; GARDNER 1973a, 437. French titular cardinals of S.Cecilia in the 13th century were Simon de Sully (1231-33), Simon de Brion (1261-1281) and Jean Cholet (1281-1292).

¹⁵² The 13th century French popes were Urban IV (1261-64), Clement IV (1265-68), Innocent V (1276), and Martin IV (1281-85).

Parisian theology through the preaching of the mendicants.¹⁵³ More specifically on the Last Judgement theme, it has been noted by Baschet in his study of Hell imagery in France and Italy from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries that, after a period in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries when the Last Judgement was frequently depicted in great detail,¹⁵⁴ there follows nearly a century in Italy when the scene rarely appears. And when it does appear, it is in an abbreviated form.¹⁵⁵ So it may be that Cavallini's composition was the first to revive the 'complete' Last Judgement scene in Rome, accompanied by Old and New Testament cycles.¹⁵⁶ The complete version already appears c.1240-1260 on the façade of Ferrara cathedral in the company of French Gothic decorative and iconographic motifs.¹⁵⁷ The re-expansion of the Last

¹⁵³ For papal declarations on the Last Judgement see Chapter II, nn.307-311 and Chapter III, nn.484-486. For the effects of papal policy and mendicant preaching regarding the fate of the soul, see A. BERNSTEIN, "The Invocation of Hell in Thirteenth Century Paris," in *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. HANKINS ET AL., eds., (New York, 1987) 13-54.

¹⁵⁴ For example, within Italy: the Vatican panel n.526 (c.1061-1071), Sant'Angelo in Formis (c.1070), Torcello (c.1100), and S.Maria Immacolata in Ceri (c.1100).

¹⁵⁵ BASCHET 1993a, 202, gives the examples of S.Giovanni a Porta Latina (c.1191), the Baptistery at Parma (c.1200), and the S.Silvestro Chapel (1246). To that can be added S.Nicola at Filettino (1220-1230).

¹⁵⁶ The Last Judgement scene at S.Pietro in Vineis in Anagni, which forms part of a Passion cycle dated c.1255, anticipates S.Cecilia in the depiction of the division of the blessed and the damned, but since it excludes the apostles, it cannot be considered complete. Its unusual iconography is probably the result of experimentation in condensing and adapting a pictorial cycle to the needs of Clarissan nuns. See ROMANO 1997, 110-112.

¹⁵⁷ The building of the façade of the cathedral was undertaken c.1240 when Azzo Novello d'Este took control of the city with the assistance of bishop Filippo Fontana, marking the beginning of a long period of Guelf domination. Fontana, probably responsible for the program of the cathedral façade, had studied in Toledo and Paris and had participated in the Council of Lyons in 1245, and so was familiar

Judgement scene may, then, be posited as a result of the thirteenth-century French influx into Italy.¹⁵⁸ The phenomenon also ran parallel to the re-establishment of the tradition of depicting monumental narrative cycles which accompanied the thirteenth-century rise of the Franciscan movement, which, in its turn, was also supported and protected by the papacy and the Angevin monarchy.¹⁵⁹

The innovations in the Last Judgement at S.Cecilia, which include the treatment of light and colour, the iconographical significance of light, the categorization of the angels according to Pseudo-Dionysius, the emphasis on the cult of saints, and the revival of the instruments of martyrdom held by the apostles, may be said to derive from theological and artistic developments in the Ile-de-France. The impact of Cavallini's developments, in turn, can be found from Naples to

with Gothic art. S.A. ZAVIN, *Ferrara Cathedral Façade*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, 206.

¹⁵⁸ Perhaps an exception to this is the Last Judgement in San Bevignate in Perugia which includes the General Resurrection and the processions of the blessed and the damned (now lost). The lowest register depicts a row of flagellants. The frescoes are dated c.1260-1270 and the church is associated with the Knights Templar. The Templars had their headquarters on the site of Solomon's Temple and thus were associated with that king's wise judgement. See P. SCARPELLINI, "La chiesa di San Bevignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina del Duecento," in *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia. La Chiesa di San Bevignate a Perugia*, M. RONCETTI ET AL., eds. (Milan, 1987) 93-158, pp.110-116. For the Templars see *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 502.

¹⁵⁹ The life of St Francis was paralleled with that of Christ. See THOMAS OF CELANO, "Vita prima s.Francisci Assisiensis," in *Analecta Franciscana* (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1885-), X (1926): "Legendae s.Francisci Assisiensis saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae ad codicum fidem recensitae," 1-117. The realism and abundant 'eye-witness' detail used to depict the life of the contemporary local saint, inspired the revival, with the same detailed treatment, of cycles of the life of Christ.

Avignon as his innovations were imitated in Italy by other artists.¹⁶⁰ Closest in date and distance, the Last Judgement at S.Maria in Vescovio is S.Cecilia's immediate successor.

SANTA MARIA IN VESCOVIO, c.1293-1297

Among the list of churches with decorative cycles based on an Early Christian model (notably Old St Peter's) which include a Last Judgement scene on the reverse façade, is the former Cathedral of Sabina, S.Maria in Vescovio, located about 60 kilometers northeast of Rome (Map 1).¹⁶¹ It has been suggested that the likely patron of the cycle is Gerardo Bianchi, Cardinal Bishop of S.Maria from 1281 until his death in 1302. Evidence, both compositional and figural, suggests that the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio (I.27, I.28) borrows directly from Cavallini's fresco in S.Cecilia and thus provides an approximate date for S.Maria in Vescovio of c.1293-1302.¹⁶² Moreover, there exists a striking similarity between a framing motif on the nave walls of S.Maria in Vescovio and a motif in the lower register of the

¹⁶⁰ P. LEONE DI CASTRIS, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli angioina* (Rome, 1986) 239-313.

¹⁶¹ See F.P. SPERANDIO, *Sabina sagra e profana antica e moderna* (Rome, 1790); G. MATTHIAE, "Lavori della Soprintendenza ai monumenti del Lazio. Affreschi di S.Maria di Vescovio," *BA* 28 (1934-1936) 86-95; PAESELER, 366-369; B.M. APOLLONJ GHETTI, "La chiesa di S.Maria di Vescovio antica cattedrale di Sabina," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 23-24 (1947-48) 253-303; C. MONTAGNI & L. PESSA, *Le chiese romaniche della Sabina* (Genoa, 1983) 35-68.

¹⁶² GARDNER 1973b, 30-32, notes that the figure of a pope, led toward Christ by a saint (probably Peter, who places his hand on the pope's shoulder), copies a figure among the blessed in Cavallini's Last Judgement (I.28). Gardner claims the mediocre quality of the painting eliminates any possibility of its priority over S.Cecilia.

façade mosaics of S.Maria Maggiore in Rome.¹⁶³ If one accepts that Vescovio borrowed from S.Maria Maggiore, and that the façade mosaic of the Roman basilica was completed before the fall of the Colonna family in 1297, the dating of the frescoes in S.Maria in Vescovio can be narrowed to c.1293-1297.¹⁶⁴

The composition and iconography of the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio are clearly related to those of S.Cecilia and provide clues to the missing parts of the Roman fresco. The deviations from Cavallini's fresco nearly always remain within the Roman tradition described above. For example, Vescovio's Christ is seated on a backless throne along with the instruments of his Passion, reminiscent of the image in the S.Silvestro Chapel (I.19). His clothes, however, are almost identical to those in S.Cecilia where Christ is fully-dressed in voluminous drapery with a slit in his tunic to expose the wound in his side (I.24). Another example is provided by the mandorla surrounding Christ at Vescovio which is similar, in its bands of red, white and green, to the remaining fragment of the upper aureole in S.Cecilia in Trastevere. Beneath the mandorla in S.Maria in Vescovio a fragment of a large cross is still visible. Since the other instruments of Passion

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* Strengthening this connection is the fact that Bianchi was responsible for the commission and consecration in 1297 of an altar dedicated to the Magdalen in S.Maria Maggiore, in front of which was originally placed his own modest tomb. G. DREI, "La Badia Cisternense di Valleserana di Parma," *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi* ns.27 (1927) 203-230; P. HERDE, "Bianchi (Albus, Blancus), Gerardo," in *DBI* 10 (1968) 96-101, p.100.

¹⁶⁴ GARDNER 1973b, 28-32. For the opinion that the lower section of the façade of S.Maria Maggiore was completed after the rehabilitation of the Colonna in 1306, and that the framing device in the Roman mosaic therefore depends on that in the fresco at Vescovio, see A. TOMEI, "Il ciclo vetero e neotestamentario di S.Maria in Vescovio," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 355-378, pp.358-360.

appear within the mandorla, it is unlikely that the cross rested on an altar which was often the location of the Passion instruments. In S.Maria in Vescovio the angels which support the aureole are considerably smaller in scale and lack the monumentality of Cavallini's angels (I.26). But those which flutter above the apostles suggest the appearance of the lost angels at S.Cecilia of which only the *sinopia* remains on the upper wall. The categorization of the angels at Vescovio is not as highly noticeable but, nevertheless, at least three different costumes are discernible. The angel leading the blessed toward Paradise is dressed in white, and in posture closely resembles the angels in the left-hand lower register at S.Cecilia.

A notable feature at Vescovio is the appearance of supplicants kneeling in veneration of the large and possibly isolated cross of which only the top remains (I.27, I.28). Acting as intercessors for the blessed are St Peter, with grey hair and beard, who places his right hand on the shoulder of the kneeling pope, and the angel dressed in white who places a hand on an unidentified figure among the group of venerators.¹⁶⁵ The guiding angels on the lower left at S.Cecilia also seem to place their hands on the shoulders of the blessed (I.25). This suggests that the figures of the blessed at S.Cecilia might also have been kneeling with their hands held open in front of them in the manner of the pope at Vescovio.¹⁶⁶ Flanking Christ at Vescovio are the Virgin and John the Baptist followed by the enthroned apostles. The

¹⁶⁵ GARDNER 1973b, 30.

¹⁶⁶ Saints Stephen and Lawrence in Cavallini's fresco (I.22) hold their hands in a manner similar to the pope at Vescovio, suggesting that they too, might have knelt. For the iconographical developments of the large cross see Chapter III, n.430ff; for the kneeling venerator in Tuscan Last Judgements see Chapter III, n.473ff.

volumetric modelling of drapery and the naturalistic detailing of the faces of these figures in the main register are reminiscent of Cavallini's treatment of the main register at S.Cecilia, but the overall effect lacks the monumentality of the Roman work.

The apostles are represented each holding his attribute. This has almost certainly been derived from Cavallini's Last Judgement.¹⁶⁷ S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri (c.1100-1130) and S.Nicola at Filettino (c.1220-1230) can not be ignored as possible models, or at least as indicators of a more wide-spread tradition, but the many similarities to S.Cecilia and Bianchi's ties to Rome make a convincing case for S.Cecilia as the model. With the exception of a few cases, like S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples, where only some of the apostles hold their attributes, this feature was not imitated in subsequent Last Judgement scenes and we usually find the apostles holding books. Perhaps the particularly strong cult of relics associated with the history of S.Cecilia and with the series of French titular cardinals of S.Cecilia explains the unusual occurrence of this iconography at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, Bianchi did not bring to the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio the depiction of the Acts of Mercy with which he would certainly have been familiar from their representation in sculpture on the west portal of the Baptistry in Parma, to whose cult

¹⁶⁷ It should be noted, however, that the presumed patron, Cardinal Bianchi, from the Guelf city of Parma, was a French supporter, had strong connections with Martin IV and with Charles I of Anjou, and was sent to France by Nicholas III in 1278-79 where he may have seen similar representations of the apostles. HERDE, 96-97.

¹⁶⁸ See above n.105ff, nn.148-149.

and canons he left a generous legacy.¹⁶⁹ He was no doubt aware of, and probably subscribed to, the increasingly popular belief that confession and penance rather than one's good deeds were the criteria for safe passage to Heaven.

Within an arc at the top of the gable of the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio appears the Lamb of God standing on a backless throne or altar. The dependence of the composition at Vescovio on that at S.Cecilia leads to the suggestion that a Lamb may have existed at the top of Cavallini's Last Judgement, as Paeseler imagined in his reconstruction (I.25). This possibility brings to mind the fragment of a Lamb on the reverse façade of S.Maria Maggiore in Rome and the evidence for the production of a Last Judgement scene there in the last years of the thirteenth century.¹⁷⁰ Just as the apse mosaics of Torriti in S.Maria Maggiore and of Cavallini in S.Maria in Trastevere suggest an artistic rivalry between institutions and their patrons,¹⁷¹ it may be valuable to hypothesize a similar competition for Last Judgement representations.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ The names of Bianchi's parents are inscribed in a fresco dated 1278-79 in the Parma Baptistry. R. FANTINI, "Il cardinale Gerardo Bianchi," *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi* ns.27 (1927) 231-300, p232. Bianchi left an endowment to maintain the cult of the Baptistry, founded a chapter of canons there in 1290 which he richly endowed until 1870, and left to the chapter a gold-plated silver cross decorated with pearls and precious stones. DREI, 206-207, 213.

¹⁷⁰ Above n.137.

¹⁷¹ S.Maria Maggiore and the Lateran were associated with the Colonna family, political rivals of the extended Orsini clan with whom S.Cecilia and S.Maria in Trastevere were associated. For Orsini patronage see below n.196ff; for Colonna patronage see GARDNER 1973b.

¹⁷² W. TRONZO, "Apse Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S.Maria in Trastevere and S.Maria Maggiore," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms and Regional Traditions*, W.TRONZO, ed. (Bologna, 1989)

The placing of the Lamb on a throne at the summit of the reverse façade above the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio serves two iconographical purposes, both of which can be used to effect a reconstruction of the lacunae at S.Cecilia. First, the Lamb of God, *agnus dei*, is a symbol for Christ (John 1:29) and the metaphor is used in the liturgy just before Communion. It therefore relates to the concept of Christ as sacrifice. Furthermore the Lamb, placed on what appears to be equally throne or altar, above the image of Christ, himself seated on a throne *cum* altar with instruments of his Passion, is another reference to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The emphasis in the Last Judgement on the sacrifice and suffering of Christ, and on his role as Redeemer rather than Pantocrator, reflects the tendency in Franciscan theology to imagine the physical reality of Christ's Passion and to seek redemption through a suffering Christ.

Secondly, the Lamb, in its Apocalyptic role (Rev. 5:6), was often represented on the apsidal arch in Early Christian churches, venerated by the Apocalyptic beasts and the twenty-four Elders, as in S.Prassede (I.2).¹⁷³ In S.Giovanni a Porta Latina, too, the fragment of a bejewelled book or throne suggests there the former presence of the Lamb on the triumphal arch. The Lamb appears in fresco and mosaic on the triumphal or apsidal arches of several twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches in the Roman area: for example, S.Anastasia at Castel Sant'Elia, S.Silvestro in Tivoli, and Ss. Abbondio and Abbondanzio at Rignano

167-193, p.170.

¹⁷³ For the Apocalyptic Lamb on the throne, see CHRISTE 1996, 66-71.

Flaminio.¹⁷⁴ This is significant because, according to Ciampini's engraving of the apsidal arch mosaic in S.Cecilia in Trastevere, the image of the frontally-posed Enthroned Virgin and Child, allegory of the Throne of Wisdom, took the place of the Lamb on the apsidal arch, where the Virgin and her Son, instead of the Lamb, were venerated by Holy Virgins and the Apocalyptic Elders (I.3). If an enthroned Lamb existed above the Last Judgement scene at S.Cecilia, its placement there might have been intended to compensate for its absence on the apsidal arch and, more importantly, to connect the apocalyptic theme of the apse wall with the judgement theme of the entrance wall by repeating the motif of the throne. The Last Judgement scene on the entrance wall of S.Cecilia with the Lamb at its summit may have, in turn, inspired the successive images at S.Maria Maggiore and S.Maria in Vescovio.

THE PATRONAGE OF SANTA CECILIA

Having established the place of Cavallini's Last Judgement scene in S.Cecilia in Trastevere within the context of the Roman tradition of that scene, we may turn now to the patronage of S.Cecilia's frescoes and to the complex pattern of art patronage among the Orsini clan in late thirteenth-century Rome. We will see how closely the revival of interest in depicting the Last Judgement at the end of the thirteenth century was associated with the arrival in Italy of the Angevin monarchy and the French clergy. A debate has continued for some time over whether Jean Cholet or Simon de Brion (later pope Martin IV) was the patron of the frescoes in S.Cecilia. While I credit Cholet with the

¹⁷⁴ MANION, 94-98.

patronage, I propose that in the case of S.Cecilia, the succession of French cardinals was precisely that: a succession of responsibilities passing from one cardinal to his successor. While Martin IV may have initiated the translation of the relics at S.Cecilia, the renovations to the church were then undertaken by his successor, Cholet. Beyond this issue, it is important to note that Cavallini's was the first Last Judgement scene to appear in Rome in nearly fifty years; it was the first in many more years to include the separation of the elect and the damned; and it was commissioned by a French ecclesiastic with ties both to the Angevin monarchy and to the most powerful barons in Rome, the Orsini.

It was first proposed by Gardner and supported by Hetherington that the patron of the renovations at S.Cecilia was probably the Frenchman Jean Cholet, titular cardinal of S.Cecilia from 1281 until his death in Rome in 1292. Cholet, a very wealthy and well-travelled diplomat, had been bishop of Beauvais and was therefore familiar with French Gothic art.¹⁷⁵ His will, written in France in 1289, provided for numerous French beneficiaries but left only one bequest to a Roman legatee and no provision for his titular church. Thus the attribution of the patronage of S.Cecilia in Trastevere to Cholet rests upon the likelihood of his involvement in terms of wealth and position, and on the possibility that he had already transferred the necessary funds and set the commission on course before making out his will. This is by no means unprecedented: support for the hypothesis of Cholet's patronage may be drawn from Paravicini Bagliani's study of the testaments of thirteenth-century cardinals in which he notes the possibility that

¹⁷⁵ GARDNER 1973a, 437; HETHERINGTON 1979, 40-41.

Cholet might have made separate French and Italian wills.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand, it has been proposed that the patron should be identified as the previous titular cardinal of S.Cecilia, Simon de Brion, who became pope Martin IV in 1281. As Martin IV, he continued his benevolence toward the church where he had been titular cardinal for twenty years, first by appointing as his successor another Frenchman with ties to the French court, Jean Cholet, and then by bequeathing to S.Cecilia in Trastevere the gift of a silver reliquary statue of S.Cecilia, decorated with gold and precious gems, containing one of the saint's teeth.¹⁷⁷

In an important article, Serena Romano has shown that the translation of Cecilia's relics in 822, the building of the Carolingian church on the site believed to have been that of the saint's martyrdom, and the original decoration and furnishings of the church as reported in the *Liber Pontificalis*, indicate that S.Cecilia in Trastevere was always intended as a focus of veneration for the cult of saints and that this tradition continued into the sixteenth century when Cardinal Sfondrato re-enacted the gesture of Paschal I in translating the relics to a new sarcophagus and reconsecrating the altar.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps it was precisely this cult of saints and their relics founded by Paschal I which drew the

¹⁷⁶ An example of the occurrence of *citramontano* and *ultramontano* testaments can be found in the case of the French Dominican cardinal Hugues Aycelin. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, 51 n.1, 61, 276-320; also noted by GARDNER 1990, 91.

¹⁷⁷ De Brion had been the keeper of the seals for Louis IX of France, was appointed titular cardinal of S.Cecilia in 1261 by Urban IV, was papal legate in France under several popes, and in 1264 was involved in negotiations to confer upon Charles of Anjou the Kingdom of Naples. A. MENICHELLA, "Pietro Cavallini: Contributo per un'ipotesi di committenza Orsini," in *Federico II* (1980) II, 51-57, pp.54-55.

¹⁷⁸ ROMANO 1988, 105-107; *Liber Pontificalis*, II, 56-57.

very first of the French cardinals, Simon de Sully, to S.Cecilia in Trastevere. Simon, appointed by Gregory IX, had been a close *familiare* of Louis VIII and began a long tradition of French cardinals at S.Cecilia, all powerfully connected to the French crown.¹⁷⁹ Romano argues that an inscription on a marble slab in the crypt of S.Cecilia belongs to a late thirteenth-century reorganization of the relics, probably accompanied by the renovation of the walls, the decorative fresco program, and the placement of the *ciborium* directly above the site of the sepulchre.¹⁸⁰ The high quality of the decoration of S.Cecilia and Martin IV's continued interest in the church has led Romano to speculate that Martin, while still cardinal, rediscovered the relics at S.Cecilia and kept a tooth for himself in a silver reliquary, with the intention of returning it to the church, by means of his testament, after his death.¹⁸¹ She has described the gift of the silver reliquary as a gesture of political and religious propaganda promoting the cult of saints which pervades the entire decorative program of S.Cecilia, particularly in the figures of holy apostles and virgins in the niches of the top register of the nave.¹⁸² The representation of the apostles of

¹⁷⁹ Louis requested on his death bed that de Sully, then archbishop of Bourges, crown his successor to the throne, Louis IX, who was then still only a boy. The tradition of French cardinals at S.Cecilia continued through the 14th century interrupted only by Tommaso d'Ocre, Cholet's successor, who was nevertheless linked to the Angevin court. He was appointed by Celestine V, political pawn of Charles II of Anjou. See ROMANO 1988, 116-117.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 109-113, shows that the slab belonged to the original sarcophagus of St Cecilia, was reused in Cardinal Sfondrato's reorganization of the crypt, then displaced in the renovations of the nineteenth century.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 116-118.

the Last Judgment scene with the symbols of their martyrdom maintains this theme. Romano cites a passage from the registers of Honorius IV, which describes Martin IV as particularly devoted to the cult of saints and martyrs, to support her proposal of his involvement in the patronage of the program at S.Cecilia in Trastevere.¹⁸³

Nevertheless, devoted as Martin was to his former titular church, the report of the execution of Martin's will in the registers of Honorius IV mentions *only* the silver reliquary among bequests to S.Cecilia in Trastevere, and this containing a relic which rightly belonged to the church in the first place. Devotion to the cult of saints and martyrs, moreover, was characteristically strong among most French ecclesiastics, and even among the Italians, due to the wide-spread influence of the court of Louis IX in Paris. The notion of such a devotion could equally be applied to Jean Cholet, whose will clearly indicates his devotion to St Cecilia.¹⁸⁴

Let us turn now to the idea of ecclesiastical succession. That Jean Cholet and Simon de Brion had a career-long relationship is known from the fact that they began their careers together in Rouen and that Cholet succeeded Simon de Brion in at least two professional posts, as legal arbitrator at Noyon and as titular cardinal of S.Cecilia in Trastevere, the latter a post to which Cholet was appointed by de Brion

¹⁸³ *Les registres de Honorius IV*, M. PROU, ed. (Paris, 1888) 55, n.65, cited in *Ibid.*, 117 n.46.

¹⁸⁴ Cholet founded a chapel dedicated to S.Cecilia at Beauvais and donated a window with an inscription, all now lost. GARDNER 1990, 91-92. He also commissioned several manuscripts in Paris. See R. BRANNER, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977) 132. He commissioned an image of S.Cecilia in the chapel of S.Léonard in the Cathedral of Beauvais, and in his will there was provision for a chantry chapel in the abbey of Saint-Lucien at Beauvais. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, 251.

after his election as Martin IV in 1281.¹⁸⁵ Their long history combined with Martin IV's ongoing interest in his former titular church suggests continued contact between the two, even perhaps extending to decisions concerning S.Cecilia. That long-time colleagues, who were perhaps also friends,¹⁸⁶ should discuss a common professional interest, does not automatically infer the direct involvement of the former titular cardinal in the affairs of his successor. It does, however, provide a basis to dispute Menichella's hypothesis that the patronage of S.Cecilia must reflect the wishes of pope Martin IV since only Martin's activities are known to have been closely entwined with the Orsini family.¹⁸⁷ Just as Martin IV had passed on to Cholet the offices of arbitrator at Noyon and titular cardinal of S.Cecilia, so he must have also passed to his successor the privileges and contacts associated with those positions. A date which allows for Simon de Brion's direct involvement, while still cardinal, in the patronage of the decoration at S.Cecilia does not coincide with the 1293 date of completion of the decoration as established by recent restorations and scholarship,¹⁸⁸ nor with the fact that there was a decline in monumental painting in Rome in the early 1280s owing to the hostile relationship between the city and the papacy

¹⁸⁵ E. MÜLLER, "Le cardinal Jean Cholet," *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Oise* 11 (1880) 790-835, pp.793, 796.

¹⁸⁶ Cholet was Martin IV's "ancien et intime amy," according to A. AUBERY, *Histoire générale des cardinaux* (Paris, 1642-47) I, 331.

¹⁸⁷ The Orsini were involved with the administration of several churches with major decorative programs: S.Pietro, S.Paolo fuori le mura, S.Maria in Trastevere, S.Crisogono, S.Giorgio al Velabro. MENICHELLA, 54, 55, 57.

¹⁸⁸ See above n.49.

after the death of Nicholas III (1277-1280).¹⁸⁹ For there to be any relationship between Simon de Brion, the reorganization of the relics and the redecoration of S.Cecilia in Trastevere (and surely Arnolfo's *ciborium* is related to the reorganization of the relics), the translation must have occurred towards the end of de Brion's twenty-year cardinalate, or as I believe more likely, after he had been elected pope in 1281.

During the periods in which they were titular cardinals of S.Cecilia, De Brion and Cholet spent most of their time as papal legates in France. The former, after his election as Martin IV, lived in Orvieto, geographically closer to S.Cecilia in Trastevere than he had been while titular cardinal. The opportunity provided by proximity may have inspired the search for the relics. The description of Martin IV's personal involvement in the sacred functions of the basilica on the annual feast day of Saint Cecilia, on which occasion he would sit on the marble seat behind the tribune surrounded by his cardinals,¹⁹⁰ strengthens the notion that his papacy provided him greater access to the church of S.Cecilia and the relics of the saint.

If one accepts that Cavallini was working on the Old Testament cycle in S.Paolo fuori le mura from c.1282 until at least 1285,¹⁹¹ and that Arnolfo was working on the S.Paolo *ciborium* in the years before

¹⁸⁹ The only monumental project in these years was the restoration of the Old Testament cycle in S.Paolo. J. GARDNER, *Influence of popes' and cardinals' patronage on the introduction of the Gothic style into Rome and the surrounding area, 1254-1305*, PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, University of London (London, 1969) 228; GARDNER 1971, 248.

¹⁹⁰ C.B. PIAZZA, *Gerarchia cardinalizia* (Roma, 1703) 382-388, pp.383, 386.

¹⁹¹ Above nn.63,67.

1285, it is more plausible to assign the rediscovery of the relics of Saint Cecilia to a date no earlier than the years of Martin's pontificate (1281-1285), and to assign to Cholet the successive renovation of the basilica of S.Cecilia. Following this chronology, it is possible to hypothesize that Cholet designed the program of decoration for S.Cecilia, with its emphasis on the cult of saints and martyrs using French decorative motifs, *in memoriam* and in gratitude to Martin IV, upon the pope's death in 1285. He would thereby have echoed the action of Honorius IV who executed with great speed the testament of his predecessor regarding the restitution of the silver reliquary to the church of S.Cecilia, in honour of Martin's devotion to the cult of saints.¹⁹² And Cholet would thus have organized the project, probably putting the funds in place, before writing his testament in 1289.

Another factor seldom mentioned in connection with the patronage of the Last Judgement scene in S.Cecilia is the importance of canon and civil law among cardinals of the thirteenth century. This has been clearly demonstrated with respect to the career of Jean Cholet in an article by Müller. Both Simon de Brion and Jean Cholet were legal representatives for the Holy See and arbitrated disputes between the church and the communities and between the church and the monasteries.¹⁹³ Cholet was a brilliant arbitrator and was involved in negotiating the most important international political treaties of the time, such as the *Pax de Lyon* of 1287 which ended the differences between the kings of France and Castille. He negotiated the treaty which freed from captivity Charles of

¹⁹² Honorius delivered the silver statue to S.Cecilia on 17 June 1285, along with a eulogy to Martin IV.

¹⁹³ Cholet replaced Brion in this capacity at Noyon. Both had also been archdeacons of the same church in Rouen. MÜLLER, 793-95.

Salerno, the future Charles II of Anjou, prisoner of Alphonse of Aragon.¹⁹⁴ It is not known if Cholet was involved in the Peace of Tarascon (1290-91) to which were delegated Gerardo Bianchi and Benedetto Caetani (the future Boniface VIII) to gain peace between the Houses of Aragon and Anjou, but shortly afterward, France conferred on Cholet the highly suggestive title of *Francorum regum consul bonus et specialis*.¹⁹⁵ According to Müller, this title was inscribed on one of Cholet's epitaphs, possibly from his Roman tomb in S.Ciriaco in Thermis,¹⁹⁶ of which remains only a transcription whence come these few lines:

Postea legatus fuit inclytus atque probatus / Vir magni cordis
cujus mens nescia sordis / Gloria francorum decus orbis formaque
morum / Fautor justorum constans ultor vitiorum / Canonis et
legum professor erat generalis / Francorum regum consul bonus
et specialis.¹⁹⁷

A knowledge of canon and civil law had become, by the second half of the thirteenth century, a necessary condition for rising to the highest offices in the Church, and the examination of legal cases made up a large part of the activity of the college of cardinals.¹⁹⁸ Cholet's

¹⁹⁴ In 1288 Nicholas IV wrote to the kings of France and England, urging them to cooperate with Cholet in obtaining the release of Prince Charles. *Ibid.*, 809.

¹⁹⁵ For Cholet's diplomatic career and arbitrations see *Ibid.*, 795-813.

¹⁹⁶ S.Ciriaco in Thermis was probably located within the Baths of Diocletian and in Cholet's time belonged to the monastery of the Carthusians. *Monasticon Italiae*, I, 49; KRAUTHEIMER, I, 114-116.

¹⁹⁷ MÜLLER, 820, with sources pp.819-821.

¹⁹⁸ R. MORGHEN, "Il Cardinale Matteo Rosso Orsini," *ASRSP* 46 (1923) 271-372, pp.276-277, n.2. Since the mid-twelfth century the papal Curia had been increasingly involved in legal matters throughout Christendom as the result of the institution of the right of appeal

roles as special counsel to the kings of France and diplomat and legal negotiator for the Holy See may thus have had some bearing on the choice of a Last Judgement scene in S.Cecilia. At the time of its execution, Cavallini's Last Judgement may have been the first such scene to have been produced in Rome in nearly fifty years, and possibly the first complete Last Judgement in nearly a century. The monumentality and authority of Cavallini's divine tribunal must have been particularly striking. An exceptionally skilled judge of international reputation, Cholet may well have conceived of the design in order to emphasize, and to identify personally with, the act of judgement within the composition.

Although the arguments on both sides are hypothetical, I believe the evidence in favour of Cholet's patronage outweighs that for Simon de Brion. Cholet is known to have been a patron of the arts with a particular devotion to S.Cecilia; he is known to have had in his possession a copy of Pseudo-Dionysius' *The Celestial Hierarchy* borrowed from the abbey of St Denis; and he is known to have been well-connected with the Angevins through his negotiations on behalf of Charles II. Since the funding for the redecoration of S.Cecilia was probably arranged before 1289 (and might well have been organized c.1285 on the occasion of the death of Martin IV), and since there exists the possibility of further bequests to his titular church in a separate

which allowed defendants to appeal to the pope to challenge a judgement pronounced by a local ecclesiastical court, or to submit a question to the Curia even before a case was brought to court. The enormous number of cases which flooded into the Curia demanded ever more qualified judges to arbitrate, and papal decisions on specific cases were collected in *Decretales* for use as precedents in similar cases judged by legates and bishops. A. PADOA-SCHIOPPA, "Hierarchy and Jurisdiction: Models in Medieval Canon Law," in *Legislation and Justice*, A. PADOA-SCHIOPPA, ed. (Oxford, 1997) 1-15, p.10-11.

Italian will, Cholet must be credited, therefore, with the patronage of the decorative program in S.Cecilia in Trastevere.

THE ORSINI CIRCLE OF PATRONAGE

I have described above how a circle of papal patronage was likely centered at Anagni in the first half of the thirteenth century. Art patronage in the late thirteenth century shifted its focus back to Rome and became not only the privilege of the papal Curia but also of those baronial families with ties to the papacy and the Angevin monarchy. At this time there emerged a 'papal' nobility, local barons whose wealth, power and social status were elevated as a result of the Angevin presence.¹⁹⁹

Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France, was nominated Senator of Rome²⁰⁰ in 1263 by the French pope Urban IV. In 1266 the Angevins defeated the imperial forces and Charles claimed the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily; this was conferred by the papacy in exchange for the Angevin defense of the Papal States against the Hohenstaufen threat. To win the favour of the Romans during his first senatorship, Charles I introduced the *Studium Urbis* in October 1265, designed to

¹⁹⁹ 1) They were allowed to expand into territories outside Lazio as Angevin representatives; 2) they could legitimize their social class through a knighthood received from the king, and 3) through matrimonial ties with official families of the Regno favoured by the king. M.T. CACIORGNA, "L'influenza angioina in Italia: gli ufficiali nominati a Roma e nel Lazio," *MEFRM* 107, 1 (1995) 173-206, p.187.

²⁰⁰ In the 13th century, a *senator* was the Roman equivalent of a *podestà* elsewhere in Italian cities, an administrator of civil justice. Although the title was borrowed from antique Roman precedents, it did not carry with it the same range of authorities.

appeal to the Roman desire to recover the dignity of ancient Rome.²⁰¹ Not long afterwards Roman barons began to display their new wealth and status in the decoration of the churches in which they worshipped. Cavallini was employed by one of the most powerful families in Rome, the Orsini, who monopolized the most important positions in both the papal Curia and the civic government.²⁰² Menichella casts the relationship between Cavallini and Orsini patronage into sharp relief and boldly refutes the statement made by Hetherington, namely, that Cavallini was a secondary painter working at the margins of papal patronage.²⁰³ As mentioned above, she proposes that the patronage of S.Cecilia should be assigned to pope Martin IV since his pontificate was so closely entwined with the Orsini.²⁰⁴ Into a brief profile of the Orsini circle of patronage I would now like to interweave another, often neglected thread, that of the Angevin presence in Rome and their behind-the-scenes influence on artistic patronage.

Giangaetano Orsini, cardinal deacon of S.Nicola in Carcere was elevated to the papal throne as Nicholas III (1277-1280). He was the son of Matteo Rosso Orsini, the founder of the family's power.²⁰⁵ He took

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

²⁰² During the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288-1292) and the contemporary rise of the Colonna family, Torriti and Rusuti were employed in the decoration of S.Maria Maggiore and the Lateran, churches associated with the Colonna, while Cavallini was operating in the circle of the Orsini. GARDNER 1973b, 1-2; MENICHELLA, 57.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 52 cites P. HETHERINGTON, "Pietro Cavallini, Artistic Style and Patronage in Late Medieval Rome," *BM* 114 (1972) 4-10 (= HETHERINGTON 1972a); HETHERINGTON 1979, 138-142.

²⁰⁴ MENICHELLA, 54-55.

²⁰⁵ Matteo Rosso was a patron of St Francis. He fought on the side of the Guelfs against Frederick II and was made sole Senator of Rome by Gregory IX in 1241. GREGOROVIVS, V, I, 214, 219; MORGHEN,

the throne after half a century of non-Roman popes and fourteen years of Angevin domination of Rome. Charles I Anjou (1266-1285) was three times Senator of Rome from 1263 to 1266, from 1268 to 1278, and again from 1281 to 1284, and his senatorship led to an infiltration of French officials into the major offices of administration in Rome and throughout the Papal States.²⁰⁶ Nicholas III set out to recover Rome from foreign domination and to do so he followed the propaganda techniques initiated by the foreigners. Echoing Charles I's *Studium Urbis*, Nicholas began a campaign to regain the glory of ancient Rome, first by changing the constitution in order to disallow a foreigner the position of senator,²⁰⁷ and then through artistic patronage in the refurbishing of the Constantinian basilicas. In 1289, moreover, Nicholas IV's decree, *Celestis altitudo potentie*, shifted a large amount of papal revenues to the college of cardinals providing the cardinals with funds for art patronage.²⁰⁸

Meanwhile, Cavallini was employed in his early career in a workshop at S.Paolo fuori le mura, possibly initially under the patronage of Nicholas III, and then certainly under the auspices of Abbot Bartholomew, working alongside Arnolfo di Cambio until about 1285.²⁰⁹

273; E. DUPRÈ THESEIDER, *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla signoria pontificia (1252-1377)* (Bologna, 1952) 79.

²⁰⁶ CACIORGNA, 175-185.

²⁰⁷ Nicholas removed Charles I from his senatorship in September 1278 and the bull, *Fundamenta militantes ecclesiae* of July 1278 was intended to prevent foreigners from ever again ruling Rome. GREGOROVIVS, V, II, 484; DUPRÈ THESEIDER, 210-213.

²⁰⁸ A. THEINER, *Codex Diplomaticus domini temporalis S.Sedis*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1861-1862) I, 304, n.CCCCLXVIII.

²⁰⁹ Above pp.63,67.

Later he worked in S.Maria in Trastevere, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, S.Crisogono and S.Francesco a Ripa, all churches in Trastevere and all connected in some way with the Orsini and the Stefaneschi.²¹⁰ Bertoldo Stefaneschi, Cavallini's patron at S.Maria in Trastevere, was the son of Pietro Stefaneschi (*podestà* of Florence in 1280, Senator of Rome in 1293) and Perna Orsini, niece of Nicholas III. Bertoldo seems to have been a part of the domestic household during Nicholas' papacy and *familiare* of the Pope.²¹¹ He was also Senator of Rome in 1289.²¹² Bertoldo's brother, Iacopo Giovanni Gaetani Stefaneschi (who took the name in honour of his mother's uncle), was titular cardinal of S.Giorgio al Velabro from 1295 and a patron of manuscripts. He was the author of the inscriptions in the mosaics of S.Maria in Trastevere and of the biography of pope Celestine V.²¹³ He commissioned a major altarpiece for Old St Peter's²¹⁴ and may also have commissioned Cavallini to paint

²¹⁰ Giovanni Gaetani Orsini, until he became cardinal under Innocent IV (1243-1254), was administrator of S.Crisogono. Matteo Rosso Orsini, as Protector of the Franciscan Order, obtained privileges for the order from Nicholas IV (1288-92) and probably played a role in the patronage of the program painted by Cavallini in S.Francesco a Ripa.

²¹¹ MENICHELLA, 53.

²¹² GREGOROVIVS, V, II, 512.

²¹³ Celestine V was a pawn of Charles II Anjou, under whose guidance he made several Angevin appointments in important offices, such as rectors of the provinces of the papal states and senators of Rome. CACIORGNA, 188. He also appointed Cholet's successor at S.Cecilia.

²¹⁴ See J. GARDNER, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a Reconsideration," *JWCI* 37 (1974) 57-103, who dates the altarpiece c.1300. For a date in the 1320s or 1330s and a placement on the canon's altar instead of the high altar see B. KEMPERS & S. DE BLAAUW, "Jacopo Stefaneschi, patron and liturgist. A new hypothesis regarding the date, iconography, authorship and function of his altarpiece for Old St Peter's," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 47 (1987) 83-113.

the apse of S.Giorgio al Velabro.²¹⁵ Members of the Orsini family held the office of archpriest at St Peter's uninterruptedly from 1267 to 1337, using the position to consolidate family power.²¹⁶ Within this period, Cavallini is reported to have painted giant figures of the evangelists and saints Peter and Paul in Old St Peter's and he designed the mosaics in S.Maria in Trastevere, commissioned by Bertoldo Stefaneschi, probably while under Orsini administration.

Another Matteo Rosso Orsini, either the brother or the nephew of Nicholas III, was curator of S.Maria in Trastevere until at least 1279.²¹⁷ He was appointed Protector of the Franciscan Order, replacing Giangaetano Orsini in 1278 after his election as pope. He was also a cardinal (1262-1305) and the archpriest of St Peter's, and was nominated Senator of Rome in 1278 following the expulsion from office of Charles I Anjou.²¹⁸ Matteo Rosso was closely connected with Simon de Brion, French titular cardinal of S.Cecilia in Trastevere (1261-1281), later pope

²¹⁵ It has also been suggested that Stefaneschi's predecessor, Pietro Peregrino, cardinal deacon of S.Giorgio (1288-1295), may have been the patron. See GARDNER 1980, 257. For S.Giorgio al Velabro see MATTHIAE 1972, 117-118; HETHERINGTON 1979, 66-72; G. RAGIONIERI, "Cronologia e committenza: Pietro Cavallini e gli Stefaneschi di Trastevere," *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia*, s.3, 11, 2 (1981) 447-467, pp.464-465; M. BOSKOVITS, "Proposte (e conferme) per Pietro Cavallini," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 297-312, pp.300-302; V. PACE, "Pietro Cavallini: Affreschi del catino absidale, Roma, S.Giorgio in Velabro," in *Roma 1300-1875. La città degli anni santi. Atlante*, M. FAGIOLO & M.L. MADONNA, eds. (Milan, 1985) 74-75. For Cardinal Stefaneschi's career with further bibliography, see E. CONDELLA, "I codici Stefaneschi: uno scriptorium cardinalizio del Trecento tra Roma e Avignon?" *ASRSP* 110 (1987) 21-61.

²¹⁶ MENICHELLA, 56.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 54. Stefano Conti had been cardinal priest of S.Maria in Trastevere from 1228 until his death in 1254. MALECZEK, 476. This suggests a link in the shift of papal patronage from Conti dominance in Anagni to Orsini dominance in Rome.

²¹⁸ GREGOROVIVS, V, II, 489; MENICHELLA, 54; MORGHEN, 273.

Martin IV (1281-1285); their relationship had developed during the pontificate of another French pope Clement IV (1265-1268), when both had represented that pope in a legal process against the Ghibellines of Florence and both had participated in the treaty to bring the Angevins into Italy to defend the Papal States.²¹⁹ During his pontificate, Martin IV placed himself in the hands of Charles I Anjou, who was then re-elected Senator of Rome, and all major officials throughout the Papal States were Angevin personnel.²²⁰ Together with Matteo d'Acquasparta, General of the Franciscan Order, Matteo Rosso was the Order's closest representative to pope Boniface VIII.²²¹ D'Acquasparta's tomb in S.Maria in Aracoeli, the Franciscan headquarters in Rome, was painted by Cavallini c.1302 and Vasari wrote that Cavallini also painted frescoes in the Aracoeli, a church associated with the Savelli family.²²² Jacopo Savelli, cardinal of S.Maria in Cosmedin and brother-in-law of Nicholas III, was the son of Senator Luca Savelli.²²³ Elevated to the papal throne as Honorius IV, Jacopo was elected Senator of Rome for life.²²⁴

Thus, Cavallini and his workshop worked alongside Arnolfo di Cambio at S.Paolo fuori le mura, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, and perhaps also in S.Maria in Aracoeli which Arnolfo may have restructured in the

²¹⁹ MENICHELLA, 55.

²²⁰ GREGOROVIVS, V, II, 492-493; CACIORGNA, 179.

²²¹ MENICHELLA, 56.

²²² For d'Acquasparta's tomb fresco see HETHERINGTON 1979, 59-65; BOSKOVITS 1983, 301; R. CARLONI, "Alcune osservazioni sulla tomba del cardinale Matteo d'Acquasparta in S.Maria in Aracoeli," in *Roma Anno 1300* (1983), 643-654, pp.647-649. For the attribution to Cavallini of frescoes in Aracoeli see VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 187.

²²³ DUPRÈ THESEIDER, 84.

²²⁴ GREGOROVIVS, V, II, 503-504.

1290s. Both artists were also employed for a part of their careers by the Angevin monarchy. Arnolfo sculpted the statue of Charles of Anjou, c.1277, which was located on the Campidoglio and is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (II.23).²²⁵ Cavallini joined the Angevin court in Naples in 1308. Angevin art patronage, as with Angevin political jurisdiction, was naturally centred within the *Regno*.²²⁶ The statue of the enthroned Charles I, however, suggests Angevin patronage (or Angevin intervention in patronage) in Rome during the years of Charles' second term of office as Roman Senator (1268-1278). The statue may have been associated with a loggia or tribunal built on the south side of S.Maria in Aracoeli.²²⁷ In such a setting, the image of the seated monarch can be convincingly interpreted also as a seated judge. The statue

²²⁵ The attribution to Arnolfo has been generally accepted. P. CELLINI, "Di Fra' Guglielmo e di Arnolfo," *BA* 40 (1955) 215-229; P. CELLINI, "L'opera di Arnolfo all'Aracoeli," *BA* 47 (1962) 180-195, pp.184-186; A.M. ROMANINI, *Arnolfo di Cambio e lo 'stil nuovo' del gotico italiano* (Milan, 1969) 158-159. A report of the 1981 restoration reveals that most of the surface of the statue has been drastically reworked, necessitating caution regarding attribution. G. MARTELLOTTI, "Il Carlo d'Angiò capitolino. Riflessioni dopo il restauro," *Arte Medievale* s.2, 5, 2 (1991) 127-147, p.145. For the date of the statue see H.M. DIXON II, *Arnolfo di Cambio: Sculpture*, PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1977, 73-75; ROMANINI 1969, 158-159.

²²⁶ For Charles I's patronage within the Kingdom of Naples, see C. BRUZELIUS, "Ad modum franciae': Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50, 4 (1991) 402-420; P. LEONE DE CASTRIS, *Arte di corte nella Napoli angioina* (Rome, 1986) 103-153; F. BOLOGNA, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414* (Rome, 1969) 52-65.

²²⁷ The tribunal, or Scuola di Giustizia, may have functioned as a monumental gateway opening onto the Piazza del Campidoglio where the Senator of Rome administered justice on market days. According to Cellini's highly conjectural reconstruction, the upper part of the gate may have included the statue of Charles I Anjou as enthroned judge flanked by trumpeters. CELLINI 1962, 184-185. For the opinion that the statue instead comes from the Palazzo Senatorio, see E. CARLI, *Arnolfo* (Florence, 1993) 60-61. The matter may finally be resolved with the forthcoming publication of documents by CLAUDIA BOLGIA which indicate there was a tribunal at Aracoeli.

represents Charles seated on a throne flanked by two lions, probably alluding, in this context, to the Throne of Solomon (II Chronicles 9:17-19),²²⁸ and follows in the tradition of royal and imperial thrones with lions on the arms.²²⁹ Moreover, the statue of Charles I recalls the image of the personification of Rome, seated on a lion throne, which

²²⁸ Solomon's throne was made of ivory and gold and had two lions flanking the throne and two more on each of six steps for a total of fourteen lions. This model was interpreted in medieval art with varying degrees of verisimilitude. The closest surviving imitation is found in a manuscript of the 13th century, the *Verger de Soulas* (Paris, BN, Ms.Fr.9229, f.2), depicting the Virgin as *sedes sapientiae* in which the throne has the requisite two and twelve lions. Meanwhile, the gable of the main porch of Strasbourg Cathedral depicts the Virgin seated on a throne with only two lions flanking the chair, but which clearly alludes to the Throne of Solomon as it is located directly above the image of King Solomon himself. F. WORMALD, "The Throne of Solomon and St Edward's Chair," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, M. MEISS, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1961) I (text) 532-539, II (Figs.1-8) pp.175-177, esp. 532-536, Figs.1, 5. For the Virgin as *sedes sapientiae*, see I.H. FORSYTH, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton NJ, 1972) 1 n.1, and 27, who argues, citing a passage from the 14th-century *Speculum humanae salvationis*, that the Throne of Solomon prefigures the Virgin in the same way that King Solomon prefigures Christ.

²²⁹ English royal thrones, too, seem to have been designed with the Throne of Solomon in mind. For his new throne, Henry III (1216-1272) requested two bronze leopards to flank the chair (now lost; an idea of it comes from Henry's seal, used from 1259). Leopards were also made to flank the chair (never completed) ordered by Edward I (1272-1307) for the Stone of Destiny (removed from Scotland and offered to St Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey in 1297). The leopards suggest a connection with Plantagenet arms but are positioned on either side of the throne in the tradition of the lions on the Throne of Solomon. Since the 10th century the English Coronation Ordo has included, at the anointing, the singing of the antiphon "*Unxerunt Salomonem*." See L.G. WICKHAM LEGG, *English Coronation Records* (Westminster, 1901) 5, cited in WORMALD, 537-539, Fig.6. In her discussion of the cross-legged pose common in representations of English kings and associated with King Solomon, R. MUIR WRIGHT, "An Image Fit for a King: the Glazier Psalter Reconsidered," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993) 69-124, pp.114-119, associates the English royal ancestors, as represented by an image of a cross-legged king on a column of the Westminster Chapter House, with the elders of Last Judgement scenes, and the lost figure of Solomon from Westminster Abbey's north-west transept portal (called Solomon's porch) with Christ of the Last Judgement at Lincoln Cathedral.

appeared on thirteenth-century coins minted by the Roman government.²³⁰ The Angevin kings borrowed from many sources, incorporating power insignia from King Solomon and the *sedes sapientiae*, Charlemagne, and the Roman emperors to help legitimize not only their claim to the Sicilian throne, but also their secular control of Central Italy.²³¹ Although Nicholas III Orsini had wanted to regain control of Rome from the foreigners, nevertheless, the relationship between the papacy and the Angevin monarchy remained one of mutual dependence as well as competition. As Menichella states, regarding the Orsini, even where there is no evidence of their patronage they often worked behind the scenes; the same can be said of the Angevins who worked their way through the offices of civic and regional government into positions of complete control.²³²

²³⁰ DIXON, 74-75, citing GREGOROVIVS, V,II, 456. For the iconography of the statue of Charles I see GARDNER, "Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry: Some Themes in Angevin Iconography," in *L'Etat angevin. Pouvoir culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Colloque International, Rome-Naples 1995, CEFR 245 (Rome, 1998) 115-126.

²³¹ On Angevin political propaganda see J-P. BOYER, "La Foi Monarchique: Royaume de Sicile et Provence (Mi-XIII^e-Mi-XIV^e Siècle)," in P. CAMMAROSANO, ed., *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, Convegno Internazionale, Trieste 1993, CEFR 201 (Rome, 1994) 85-110; A. BARBERO, "La Propaganda di Roberto d'Angiò Re di Napoli (1309-1343)," in *Idem.*, 111-131. Angevin iconography and Angevin association with the image of the enthroned monarch as judge will be discussed further in the next chapter.

²³² MENICHELLA, 57.

II

SANTA MARIA DONNAREGINA IN NAPLES
AND ANGEVIN ICONOGRAPHY

Attempts to securely assign an author and a date of execution to the frescoes in Santa Maria Donnaregina in Naples have usually connected the frescoes, which include a Last Judgement scene (II.1), with Pietro Cavallini, known to have worked in the service of the Angevin court in 1308.²³³ For this reason and because the Angevins were influential all over Italy in the decades which concern us, the Last Judgement scene in Donnaregina has been included here in a study which otherwise focuses on Lazio and Tuscany. This chapter presents an overview of the architecture and decoration of S.Maria Donnaregina and proposes a *terminus ante quem* for its Last Judgement scene based on a theological point of dispute, the Beatific Vision controversy. I will conclude the chapter with an examination of the Angevin association with the image of the enthroned ruler and its connection with the Last Judgement scene in Italy.

²³³ See Chapter I, nn.54,55.

THE TRECENTO CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DONNAREGINA

Maria of Hungary, wife of Charles II Anjou, was the daughter of Stephen of Hungary, the granddaughter of Bela IV of Hungary, and the great-niece of St Elizabeth of Hungary.²³⁴ Maria married Charles in 1270 and became the mother of thirteen children, among them Charles-Martel, King of Hungary (1291-1296), the Franciscan St Louis of Toulouse (d.1299) and Robert of Anjou, King of Naples (1308-1343). Maria devoted her later life to St Francis and the convent of S.Maria Donnaregina.²³⁵

No secure date has been established for the acceptance of the rule of St Francis by the nuns of S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples but, certainly during the patronage of Queen Maria of Hungary, Donnaregina was a Franciscan monastery.²³⁶ The Benedictine rule had been adopted in the eleventh century at which time the church had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary.²³⁷ Bulls of 1237 issued by pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), and known through the *Platea* of the monastery, confirm that the

²³⁴ St Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) was a Franciscan tertiary, daughter of Andrew II of Hungary, wife of Louis IV Landgrave of Thuringia. She was canonized by Gregory IX in 1235. G. KAFTAL, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Painting*, Saints in Italian Art 2 (Florence, 1965) cols.380-397. (= KAFTAL II)

²³⁵ É. LÉONARD, *Les angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954) 106, 182, 498; E. CARELLI & S.CASIELLO *Santa Maria Donnaregina in Napoli* (Naples, 1975) 13.

²³⁶ C. CELANO, *Notizie del bello, dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*, G.B. CHIARINI, ed., 5 vols. (Naples, 1856) II, 644-649, believed the nuns to have been inducted into the rule of Francis by Queen Maria in 1298.

²³⁷ Already mentioned in the 8th century, the convent was originally dedicated to S.Pietro del Monte di Donna Regina and the nuns followed the rule of St Basil. C. THOENES, *Neapel und Umgebung*, Reclams Kunstführer Italia 4 (Stuttgart, 1983) 192-193. For the origins of the church and convent see É. BERTAUX, *Santa Maria in Donnaregina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV* (Naples, 1899) 3-5.

nuns embraced the discipline of San Damiano in that year while still remaining under Benedictine rule, and that Donnaregina was the first monastery of Clarissans established in Naples scarcely a year after the Franciscans took possession of the monastery of San Lorenzo in 1235.²³⁸ A document of 1252 refers to the sisters as still observing the rule of Benedict and, according to legend, the nuns of S.Maria Donnaregina adopted the rule of the Franciscan order before St Clare's death in 1253.²³⁹

The fourteenth-century church of S.Maria Donnaregina was built on a NW-SE axis on the ruins of an earlier church following extensive damage by an earthquake in 1293. In 1298, soon after the death of her first son Charles-Martel (who had succeeded to the throne of Hungary), Queen Maria provided funds to restore the church and monastery with a first payment for the reconstruction of the dormitory. A document from 1307 establishes that funds to finance the restoration of the church were raised through the sale of wine and agricultural commodities.²⁴⁰ The work was still in progress when a Franciscan labour superintendent, Ubertino da Cremona, was appointed by the

²³⁸ BERTAUX 1899, 9. The history of Donnaregina is recorded in a copy of the *Platea* of the monastery dated 1707, now in the Archivio di Stato di Napoli (Carte dei Monasteri soppressi, Fasc.3501), pages 1-9 of which are reproduced in *Ibid.*, Appendix, 157-163. See also G.M. DE POMPEIS, *Memorie storiche intorno al Monastero ed alle pitture della vecchia Chiesa di Donnaregina* (Naples, 1866) 32.

²³⁹ Innocent IV placed the Clares under the new rule of St Francis in 1252 but not all convents accepted it. BERTAUX 1899, 8. See also C. D'ENGONIO CARACCILOLO, *Napoli sacra* (Naples, 1623) 169; E. CARELLI & S. CASIELLO, *Santa Maria Donnaregina in Napoli* (Naples, 1975) 26-27.

²⁴⁰ BERTAUX 1899, 12; G. CHIERICI, *Il restauro della chiesa di Santa Maria di Donnaregina a Napoli* (Naples, 1934) 17; P. LEONE DE CASTRIS, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli angioina* (Rome, 1986) 286.

queen to oversee the project in the year of the twelfth indiction, calculated by Bertaux as 1314.²⁴¹ After her death in 1323, Queen Maria left large donations in her will to several convents, but Donnaregina was favoured above all others.²⁴² The *stemma* of the queen is sculpted on the keys of the vaults of the entrance hall, and is painted on the vaults throughout the church. It consists of the red and white stripes of Hungary alternating with the Angevin fleur-de-lys on a blue field.

Donnaregina is built entirely of yellow tufo, except for the window tracery which is of black tufo, and the pillars which support the gallery (II.2, II.4).²⁴³ Structural work must have been substantially completed by 1316, at least at the apse end, when Pope John XXII issued a bull promising indulgences to visitors to the church of S.Maria Donnaregina.²⁴⁴ Another bull of 1318, however, giving permission to increase the number of friars from four to six, refers to work at the church as "de novo construi facit."²⁴⁵ The church was consecrated in

²⁴¹ BERTAUX 1899, 12; G. FILANGIERI, *Documenti per la storia e per le arti e le industrie delle province napoletane*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1883-1891) II, 68; CHIERICI, 38; LEONE DE CASTRIS, 286.

²⁴² BERTAUX 1899, 14. For the testament of Maria see C. MINIERI RICCIO, *Saggio di Codice Diplomatico formato sulle antiche scritture dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli*, 2 vols., 2 suppl. (Naples, 1879-1883), Supplemento Parte Seconda 1300-1326 (1883), Doc. LXXXIII (31 maggio 1326), 101-128.

²⁴³ CHIERICI, 126.

²⁴⁴ BERTAUX 1899, 161.

²⁴⁵ For the bull of 1318 see L. WADDING, *Annales minorum, seu trium ordinum a S.Francisco institutorum, auctore A.R.P. Luca Waddingo Hiberno*, 2nd ed., R.mi. P. Josephi Mariae Fonseca, ed. (Rome, 1731-1886) VI (1733), 517; BERTAUX 1899, 12. It was necessary that friars be present to serve as confessors and celebrants of the mass. The increase in friars suggests a growing community of nuns.

1320.²⁴⁶ In 1390 fire destroyed the roof of the church and damaged the frescoes. A fifteenth-century earthquake caused further damage.²⁴⁷ The apse of the church was partially destroyed in the seventeenth century to make way for a new church, and the older Donnaregina went into decline. Most of the windows were blocked and the gallery was extended through the sanctuary, dividing the church completely into two storeys. The lower storey was further divided by five transverse walls (four of them corresponding to the pilasters supporting the choir) to form separate storage magazines. The restoration of S.Maria Donnaregina was undertaken by Chierici in 1928 and completed in 1934.²⁴⁸

Among the frescoes which survive at Donnaregina, on the reverse façade at the level of the elevated choir loft there is a Last Judgement scene surmounted by the image of the Virgin of the Apocalypse, now hidden by the coffered ceiling. On the left wall of the choir are cycles of the Passion of Christ and the life of St Elizabeth of Hungary; on the right wall are fragments of cycles of the lives of Saints Agnes and Catherine. Beyond the choir, on the upper nave walls between the windows, are several pairs of prophets and apostles. Fragments of angelic choirs flank the triumphal arch. The remains of the Apparition of Christ to John and an Apocalyptic scene comprising various events from the Book of Revelation appear on the lower part of the right nave wall near the apse, by the entrance to the Loffredo Chapel.

²⁴⁶ For the consecration of Donnaregina, BERTAUX 1899, 12-13.

²⁴⁷ CARELLI & CASIELLO, 16.

²⁴⁸ CHIERICI, 123-145.

THE CHOIR OF DONNAREGINA

A choir for the nuns was created by extending a gallery from the west wall of S.Maria Donnaregina towards the apse, thus dividing that part of the church into two stories.²⁴⁹ The gallery is supported by pointed Gothic ribbed-vaults which unload onto octagonal pilasters (II.2).²⁵⁰ It is an important feature of the architecture that one enters the church directly beneath the choir, where the vaults are low and the area is dimly lit, and then proceeds toward the high, open area of the nave, and then toward the brightly-lit area of the apse.

The prestige of royal patronage at Donnaregina drew so many new members to the convent from among the Neapolitan aristocracy that even before the completion of the church, the gallery had to be extended by one bay towards the apse, causing two nave windows, one on either side, to be closed off and plastered over (II.3).²⁵¹ The original three-

²⁴⁹ BERTAUX 1899, 30, believed the choir was a later addition to the church body but the disposition of the windows demonstrates that the choir was an integral part of the original design. CHIERICI, 40-41.

²⁵⁰ This type of choir gallery, or *emporium*, is found frequently in Cistercian convents in 13th-century Germany. THOENES, 194. For the architecture of female monastic enclosure, particularly in Germany, see J. HAMBURGER, "Art, Enclosure and the 'Cura Monialium:' Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31, 2 (1992) 108-134, pp.111-114. For Naples see C. BRUZELIUS, "Hearing is believing: Clarissan architecture, ca. 1213-1340," *Gesta* 31, 2 (1992) 83-91; C. BRUZELIUS, "Queen Sancia of Mallorca and the Convent Church of Sta.Chiera in Naples," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 40 (1995) 69-100, pp.79-81; J. GARDNER, "Nuns and Altarpieces: Agendas for Research," *Römisches Jahrbuch* 30 (1995) 27-57, p.52. For the choir loft in S.Alvise in Venice see J. GARDNER, "The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint: the Iconography of Louis of Toulouse," in *I Francescani nel Trecento*, (Perugia, 1988) 169-193, p.193. For S.Maria delle Donne in Ascoli, S.Gregorio Armeno and S.Marcellino in Naples, all with choir galleries, see CARELLI & CASIELLO, 26-27.

²⁵¹ BRUZELIUS 1992, 86; THOENES, 194.

bay configuration of the choir loft might have allowed the nuns to see the mass as well as hear it,²⁵² although necessarily from behind a screen about one metre high, reaching from the floor to the lower edge of the fresco cycles. It may even be that choir stalls were intended to line up at the end of the choir facing the apse, as well as lining the walls, and that the sisters might have been able to view the mass in turn from the edge of the gallery.²⁵³ A longitudinal section (II.4) shows the proportions of the church. It can be seen that before the extension was undertaken, the choir gallery, with its three by three bays beneath, formed one-third of the length of the church; the open nave area formed another third, and the apse the other third. The windows are also arranged in groups of three: three small windows barely illuminate the entrance hall beneath the choir and three tall lancet windows pierce the left nave wall.²⁵⁴

The particular emphasis in Donnaregina on relationships of three may be partly related to the spiritual leanings of the patron toward the teachings of Joachim of Fiore whose history of the world was divided into three stages progressing ever towards the perfection of divine

²⁵² The extension of the gallery to the fourth bay inhibits the view of the altar from the edge of the gallery. For the problem of hearing the mass without being able to see the elevation of the host, see BRUZELIUS (as n.250).

²⁵³ The present stalls come from S.Lorenzo Maggiore and were placed in Donnaregina after the completion of the restoration in 1934, replacing originals which had been transferred to the new Donnaregina in the 17th century. R.A. GENOVESE *La chiesa trecentesca di Donna Regina* (Naples, 1993) 61. Unfortunately no evidence for the original disposition of the choir and its grille and stalls emerged from Chierici's restoration.

²⁵⁴ This arrangement is interrupted on the right wall, where there is a fourth lancet window above the third bay of the choir.

illumination.²⁵⁵ Ratios of one-to-three parts appear in many other contexts, but in combination with the abundance of Apocalyptic imagery throughout the church of Donnaregina and with the well-known Franciscan devotion of the queen, there may be here the additional influence of Joachimism.²⁵⁶ The Last Judgement scene, also in three parts, will be discussed below.

A *terminus ante quem* for the later choir extension is provided by the tomb of the patron. Leone de Castris notes that the covering of the windows, to accomodate the choir extension, must have occurred before 1325-1326 because a model of the church is depicted in this way on the tomb of Queen Maria which was erected in 1326 against the left nave wall near the apse (II.5, II.6).²⁵⁷ Funerary inscriptions indicate that

²⁵⁵ For Joachim of Fiore, see M.W. BLOOMFIELD, "Joachim of Flora: a critical survey of his canon, teachings, sources, biography, and influence," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 249-311, reprinted in *Joachim of Fiore in Christian Thought: Essays on the Influence of the Calabrian Prophet*, D.C. WEST, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1975) I, 29-91; E.R. DANIEL, "A re-examination of the origins of Franciscan Joachitism," in *Idem.*, I, 143-148; M. REEVES, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969); B. MCGINN, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 126-141, 158-167. For Joachimism in Angevin Naples, see R.G. MUSTO, "Queen Sancia of Naples (1286-1345) and the Spiritual Franciscans," in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honour of John H. Mundy*, J. KIRSCHNER & S.F. WEMPLE, eds. (Oxford, 1985) 179-214.

²⁵⁶ The writings of Joachim of Fiore, a 12th-century Calabrian mystic and prophet, emphasize the mystery of the Trinity and the coming of a third and final age characterized by monastic "viri spirituales" and culminating with the Last Judgement. His teachings were embraced by the Spiritual Franciscans. The *stigmata* of St Francis confirmed him as a typological parallel of Christ and Joachim's gloss on Rev.7:2, while identifying the angel of the sixth seal with either Christ or a pope, came to be interpreted, and accepted even by Bonaventure, as identifying the apocalyptic angel with St Francis who bore "the seal of the living God." BLOOMFIELD, 48.

²⁵⁷ LEONE DE CASTRIS, 287. Certainly the expansion of the choir must have been already contemplated when more friars were enlisted to serve the growing community in 1318. See above n.240.

the tomb of notary Marcus de Pino was placed in the nave in 1319. That of Gualtiero Caracciolo followed in 1321.²⁵⁸ The placement of these tombs would have certainly required completion of at least the first three bays of the choir, since the tombs were installed in the nave beneath the gallery where several others later joined them.²⁵⁹ Thus the documents strongly suggest the completion of the basic structure by 1319 and of the choir extension shortly afterward.

ATTRIBUTION OF THE FRESCOES

The attributions of authorship of the decoration of S.Maria Donnaregina have generally been based on the resemblance of the large figures of the apostles and prophets in the nave to those of the apostles in the work of Pietro Cavallini at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, dated c.1293 (II.7, II.8, I.23). Because Cavallini is known to have been in the service of the Angevins in Naples in 1308, scholars have attributed various parts of the decoration of S.Maria Donnaregina directly to the Roman master.²⁶⁰ Hetherington, for example, assigns the

²⁵⁸ BERTAUX 1899, Appendix IV, 169. Gualtiero Caracciolo was presumably a relative of Agnes Caracciolo, abbess of the convent from at least 1308. For his entombment, see D'ENGONIO CARACCIOLO, 170.

²⁵⁹ There were probably no frescoes in the vaulted hall beneath the choir, with the exception of decorative borders, as those walls seem to have been lined with tombs. BERTAUX 1899, 37. The open nave area had probably been reserved for the tomb of Queen Maria. Evidence for the left nave wall as the original location of her tomb is provided by CHIERICI, 136-137.

²⁶⁰ L. VENTURI "Pietro Cavallini a Napoli," *L'Arte* 9 (1906) 117-124, pp.121-122; F. HERMANIN, "Pietro Cavallini," in U. THIEME, F.BECKER, *Algemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, 37 vols. (Leipzig, 1907-1950), VI (1912), 222-224; O. MORISANI, *Pittura del trecento in Napoli* (Naples, 1947) 29-30; E. SINDONA, *Pietro Cavallini* (Milan, 1958) 29-30, 44.

fresco of the Virgin of the Apocalypse directly to the master's hand.²⁶¹ Others have questioned the extent of Cavallini's participation, if any at all, and have variously credited the decoration to his assistants, to the School of Cavallini, or to his initial guidance in the project.²⁶² Bertaux first attributed the decoration of Donnaregina to a Sienese workshop and, after the discovery of the S.Cecilia frescoes, included the influence of a Roman school without directly naming Cavallini.²⁶³ More recently Bologna and Matthiae have dismissed entirely the possibility of Cavallini's involvement in Donnaregina.²⁶⁴

Leone de Castris suggests that Cavallini may have remained in Naples a few years, considering the success and diffusion of his style

²⁶¹ P. HETHERINGTON, *Pietro Cavallini: a Study in the Art of Late Medieval Rome* (London, 1979) 74. Hetherington earlier stated that, with regard to Cavallini's sojourn in Naples, there was "no need to associate him with any surviving works," P. HETHERINGTON, Review of BOLOGNA 1969, in *BM* 114 (1972) 561-562, p.561. (= HETHERINGTON 1972b)

²⁶² A. BUSUIOCEANU, "Pietro Cavallini e la pittura romana del duecento e del trecento," *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 3 (1925) 259-406; O. SIREN, "Two pictures by a follower of Pietro Cavallini," *BM* 50 (1927), 271-272; J.WHITE, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1966), 107; C. BRANDI, "Pietro Cavallini," in *Roma anno 1300*, 1983, 13-16; M. BOSKOVITS, "Proposte (e conferme) per Pietro Cavallini," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 297-329, 309.

²⁶³ E. BERTAUX, "Gli affreschi di Santa Maria Donnaregina, nuovi appunti," *Napoli Nobilissima* 15 (1906) fasc.IX, 129-133, pp.132-133.

²⁶⁴ G. MATTHIAE, *Pietro Cavallini* (Rome, 1972) 132. While recognizing the "cavallinian" character of the prophet figures, Bologna assigns them, along with the design of the Last Judgement, to Filippo Rusuti, based on a comparison with that artist's mosaic on the upper part of the facade of S.Maria Maggiore in Rome. F. BOLOGNA, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414* (Rome, 1969) 135. There is, however, no documentary evidence to suggest that Rusuti was ever in Naples nor that he was recalled from France (where documents place him and his son from 1304-5 until 1322) by the Colonna to complete the facade of S.Maria Maggiore. J. GARDNER, "Bizuti, Rusuti, Nicolaus and Johannes: some neglected documents concerning Roman artists in France," *BM* 129, 1 (1987) 381-383, Appendix, 383.

in the Neapolitan area before and after Giotto's sojourn there.²⁶⁵ Even though Cavallini's career may have been a long one,²⁶⁶ there is nevertheless no evidence to place him in Naples at the time of the decoration of Donnaregina which probably began in the apse area around 1316.²⁶⁷ And, as has been demonstrated, Cavallini's style was quickly adopted and diffused by younger artists in Naples, like Lello da Orvieto.²⁶⁸ The monumental quality of Cavallini's painting, however, is suggested at Donnaregina in the pairs of apostles and prophets on the upper nave walls, implying at least the hand of a close follower. Leone di Castris' broad historical approach, which places the attributions and the discrepancies into perspective within the contemporary current of Cavallini's influence and within the context of Angevin politics, is a step towards understanding the art of the period. He sees the diffusion of the new style associated with Cavallini as a phenomenon reflecting Charles II's policy of institutional consolidation and his alliance with the papacy. By the time of Robert's reign, this artistic current extended from Naples to Avignon, and it managed to survive in Naples into the

²⁶⁵ LEONE DE CASTRIS, 240. Giotto is documented in Naples between December 1328 and December 1332. See F. ACETO, "Pittori e documenti della Napoli angioina: aggiunte ed espunzioni," *Prospettiva* 67 (1992) 53-65, pp.57-58.

²⁶⁶ GHIBERTI, I, Commentary II, 39 and VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 186, attribute the façade of S.Paolo fuori le mura to Cavallini. A bull of John XXII records payment for the mosaics in 1323 and another of 1325 mentions that the work had begun two years earlier. For the bull see HETHERINGTON 1979, Appendix I, 154. Also J. GARDNER, "Copies of Roman Mosaics in Edinburgh," *BM* 115 (1973) 583-591, pp.587-591, n.40.

²⁶⁷ The decoration probably began in the apse as soon as construction there had been completed. The bull of 1316 implies completion of the structure of the east end by that date. See above n.244.

²⁶⁸ LEONE DE CASTRIS, 266-269.

second decade of the fourteenth century even during Robert's absence from the kingdom.²⁶⁹ Since Cavallini's style was part of a continuing trend which was adopted by artists all over Italy, and since there exists no documentary or convincing stylistic evidence for attribution, it remains impossible to assign the frescoes of S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples to a specific artist, or for that matter, to a specifically Roman, Tuscan or Umbrian school. The frescoes at Donnaregina must be viewed from the perspective of this wide-spread artistic current, reflecting the Papal-Angevin alliance.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE CHOIR'S WEST WALL

The Last Judgement scene appears on the west wall of the choir and is divided into three sections by two tall Gothic windows and topped by a circular window (II.1). Above in the gable, hidden by the sixteenth-century coffered ceiling, is the image of the Virgin of the Apocalypse (II.9). These scenes, and the flanking narratives cycles, were intended specifically for the contemplation of the nuns.²⁷⁰

Two themes pervade the decoration of the church: one Apocalyptic, the other dynastic. The Apocalyptic emphasis is noted in the presence of the two scenes on the lower right nave wall (II.16), the choirs of angels on the triumphal arch (II.7), the large dragon in the Inferno section within the Last Judgement (II.14), and the Apocalyptic Madonna above the Last Judgement scene on the entrance wall (II.9).

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 286.

²⁷⁰ They are not visible to the congregation below and very little can be seen by the priest celebrating mass. See BRUZELIUS 1992, 87.

Queen Maria's dynastic concerns are evident in the omnipresence of her arms, in her choice of a cycle of the life of St Elizabeth, her great-aunt (II.3), in the appearance of Hungarian saints on a red and white striped background beneath the Pentecost scene in the choir (II.3), in the statues representing her children which adorn her tomb (II.5), and in the procession of the blessed in the Paradise section of the Last Judgement (II.21), among which scholars have attempted to identify various members of her family. A combination of Last Judgement and Apocalyptic imagery is not unusual and several Roman examples were discussed in the last chapter. At Donnaregina, however, there is a much stonger emphasis on the Apocalyptic message than in those images in Roman basilicas of elders and virgins venerating the Apocalyptic Lamb opposite the Last Judgement.²⁷¹

In the gable above the Last Judgement in S.Maria Donnaregina, the Apocalyptic Virgin appears as a variation of the Byzantine Blacherniotissa or Platytera, standing in the *orans* position with the nimbed face of the baby Jesus in front of her belly, rays of light emanating from her body, indicating her role as the pregnant Woman Clothed with the Sun, whose child was to rule all nations, and who was threatened by the dragon with seven heads (Rev.12) (II.9).²⁷² To the right of the Virgin is the Archangel Gabriel, an altar with a cloth draped over it, and a cross. On the left is the Archangel Michael slaying the gargantuan dragon with many heads. Both archangels

²⁷¹ Certainly there might have been Elders, Virgins and the Lamb on the triumphal arch of Donnaregina but now only fragments of angelic choirs remain.

²⁷² C. BRANDI, "Pietro Cavallini," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983) 13-16, pp.15-16. The fresco can be accessed by an outdoor stairway leading under the roof.

gesture toward the Madonna who stands on a globe positioned above the oculus of the façade. Between the oculus and the globe is a row of lozenge-shaped *stemmi* of Maria of Hungary, the red and white stripes of Hungary alternating with the Angevin fleur-de-lys. There is a border between the Apocalyptic Madonna and the Last Judgement scene of painted trompe l'oeil niches each with the face of a female saint peeking out. The Apocalyptic Madonna is rare in Italian art of the period, but a long tradition of that episode exists in Spanish art, particularly in Beatus manuscripts, and always with a prominent and brightly coloured dragon.²⁷³

While we are unable to see them together, the Virgin of the Apocalypse is represented in a scale larger than that of Christ of the Last Judgement who appears directly below her, seated on a rainbow throne within a mandorla, in the central section of the fresco between the two lancet windows (II.10, II.11). He is flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist who gesture in prayer towards him. Twelve seated apostles, some named by inscription and some carrying the instruments of their martyrdom, flank the *deesis* on either side of the windows. Above the apostles are three different ranks of angels and a row of prophets (II.1, II.13, II.20).²⁷⁴ The configuration is very similar to that

²⁷³ J. WILLIAMS, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London, 1994) I, Pl.4-5; G. VEZIN, *L'Apocalypse et la fin des temps* (Paris, 1973) Fig.130. Traces of pigment would seem to indicate that the dragon in this scene in Donnaregina was a bright red. CARELLI & CASIELLO, 39.

²⁷⁴ It is precisely this upper part of the scene, the Judgement itself, which can be seen today looking up at the choir from the altar. With a little imagination, the different perspective which would have been afforded by the original three-bay choir (with a screen about a metre high), can be seen to have provided the same view of the act of judgement. Instead, if one were to imagine a screen at the end of the extended choir, the view of the Last Judgement from the altar

in S.Cecilia in Trastevere and in both examples the Innocents appear beneath the altar, but at Donnaregina, to the left of the altar, is another group of four figures (II.12). Inscriptions once identified all four. Two of them are the Old Testament figures David and Seth; another, with his cross and loin-cloth, is recognized as Dismas, the Good Thief. The inscription over the fourth, who is bearded and carrying a scroll, is no longer legible and he remains unidentified. Certainly David and Seth represent the genealogy of Christ and reflect the dynastic hopes of Queen Maria. The choice of Seth, third son of Adam and Eve, may also allude to the queen's particular hopes for heirs to the throne of Naples to be produced by *her* third son, King Robert.²⁷⁵

The Innocents represent those who wait under the altar, according to Rev. 6:9-11, until the opening of the Fifth Seal and God's judgement on those who martyred them. Since the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, appear above John the Baptist, in the celestial realm (II.11), the central section of the Last Judgement scene may be seen as interpreting the medieval Christian idea that the fate of the righteous after the Last Judgement is a reunion with Abraham, or with the three Patriarchs. The Patriarchs wait in Heaven to welcome the Innocents who will be vindicated after the Judgement.²⁷⁶ Prayers

would be completely blocked, leaving visible to the celebrants only the Virgin of the Apocalypse.

²⁷⁵ Charles, Duke of Calabria, was Robert's only heir, born of his first marriage; the king's second marriage to Sancia of Mallorca produced no children. Charles died in 1328, leaving two daughters, one of whom, after much intrigue, succeeded the throne as Joan I (1343-1382).

²⁷⁶ The reunion of the righteous with Abraham appears in the Jewish Apocrypha, in the 4th Book of Maccabees and in three passages of the New Testament: Matt.8:11-12; Luke13:28-29; Luke16:19-31. In this last passage which recounts the *Parable of Lazarus*, the rich man,

were said for the souls of the deceased to be received in the Bosom of Abraham in the liturgy for the dead. And while it was often associated with the resting place of souls *before* the Last Judgement, the Bosom of Abraham was also considered to be the *regnum coelorum*, the eternal Kingdom of Heaven after the Last Judgement.²⁷⁷ Below the altar (II.12), to the left of the angels who announce with trumpets the General Resurrection, is another group of four figures, among them a queen and a Franciscan, undoubtedly representing the patron and her hope for salvation through her devotion to Francis. This devotional image of Maria waiting under the altar to go to her eternal rest, praying for her own salvation and that of her ancestors and successors befits the setting in the funerary church where the queen was to be buried.

A river of fire leads from beneath Christ's mandorla, in the central section, toward the entrance to Hell to the right of the windows. Hell consists of three major components arranged to form a circle (II.13, II.14): a large, winding Apocalyptic dragon with jaws gaping to receive those refused by Christ, a hideous central figure of Satan devouring the wicked, and seven circular pouches, forming the lower third of Inferno, displaying the torments of the damned. These well-ordered compartments displaying the wicked licked by flames or eaten by worms are reminiscent of the compartments in Byzantine Last Judgement scenes. Were we able to see the Last Judgement scene and the

Dives, is sent to Hell, and the poor man, Lazarus, is carried by angels to the Bosom of Abraham.

²⁷⁷ St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Supp., Qu., 69, art. 4. According to J. BASCHET, "Medieval Abraham: Between Fleshly Patriarch and Divine Father," *Modern Language Notes* 108, 4 (1993) 738-758, p. 742 n. 16, when it appears in the Last Judgement, the Bosom of Abraham must be interpreted as the final resting place.

Apocalyptic Madonna together on the west wall, it would be immediately noticeable that they together represent integral parts of the Apocalyptic drama according to Revelation 6 and 12 and that, compositionally, the defeated dragon to the left of the Virgin balances, or cancels, the devouring dragon of the Hell scene in the opposite corner of the wall. The combination of the Apocalyptic Madonna, the dragon and the circular composition of Hell signals to me the evidence of a Spanish influence, perhaps of Beatus manuscripts or of some unknown frescoes. The possibility that Spanish artists may have worked at Donnaregina certainly exists. For more than two decades Charles II was involved in negotiations with the house of Aragon in Catalonia, the Capetian house of France and the papacy, in an attempt to reclaim Sicily from the Aragonese. His numerous journeys between Barcelona, Rome and Naples opened the roads between those cities for the exchange of artists and artistic currents which the Angevins eagerly encouraged.²⁷⁸ Moreover, the dynastic marriages between the House of Anjou and the Houses of Aragon and Mallorca, including Robert's to Sancia of Mallorca in 1304, undoubtedly facilitated cultural exchanges between the kingdoms and brought Spanish artistic traditions to Naples.²⁷⁹

In Bertaux's discussion of two Neapolitan panels depicting the Apocalypse, now in Stuttgart, he considers the colour, predominantly yellow on a black background, and the composition of the panels to

²⁷⁸ BOLOGNA, 58, 62.

²⁷⁹ Between 1295 and 1310 several of Robert's siblings married into the Spanish houses as part of the peacemaking with Aragon. Whether Maria of Hungary ever visited Spain is unknown but unlikely. Certainly Sancia would have brought books and an entourage to Naples.

have imitated the Apocalypse on the lower right wall of Donnaregina.²⁸⁰ Bologna notes that it is characteristic of the frescoes at S.Maria de Tahull in Catalonia (as it is in other Spanish frescoes and Beatus manuscripts) to employ a background of clear zones of colour and to separately articulate the colours blue and yellow (II.15).²⁸¹ While it is impossible to distinguish colours at Donnaregina accurately, the scenes from the Book of Revelation on the right wall are slightly better preserved than other parts of the decoration and reds and yellows can still be seen (II.16). The Inferno section of the Last Judgement also has a lighter, yellowish, overall tone than the rest of the frescoes although no individual colours can be distinguished.²⁸² The backgrounds, which

²⁸⁰ BERTAUX 1906, 132. Panels showing scenes of the Apocalypse, formerly in the Fürstenau Collection and now in the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart, which closely follow the fresco on the lower right nave wall of S.Maria Donnaregina, have been dated before 1340 based on imitations in manuscripts datable between 1340 and 1350. A. SCHMITT, "Die Apokalypse des Robert von Anjou," *Pantheon* 28 (1970) 475-503. I have not been able to access the new catalogue by A. RAVE which has appeared since the panels were cleaned.

²⁸¹ BOLOGNA, 61.

²⁸² Bertaux stated that the painting technique used at Donnaregina was an ancient method generally used in Tuscany at the end of the thirteenth century before the innovations of Giotto. It involves a preparation on to which the pigment is applied *a secco*, using lime-water or organic glue, to a dry wall. BERTAUX 1899, 102. According to Borsook, the same or a similar technique was used by Cimabue in the transept at Assisi, and even by Giotto in the Peruzzi Chapel. E. BORSOOK, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany from Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1980) xxvi, 5. B. ZANARDI, *Il Cantiere di Giotto. Le Storie di san Francesco ad Assisi* (Milan, 1996) 38, 409-410, distinguishes between *pittura a secco* and *pittura a calce* (lime), the former involving the application of ground pigments to any dry support by means of any binding agent (oil, egg, wax, lime), the latter involving the moistening with water of an already dry intonaco before the application of pigments mixed with lime. Neither is as durable as true *fresco* and the result is often that the pigment later flakes off leaving the underdrawing visible. The monochromatic effect in some areas of the Donnaregina frescoes can be explained by this loss of surface pigment. Additional damage caused by the fire of 1390 renders a proper analysis of colour at Donnaregina impossible.

vary from grey to black throughout the frescoes, may have originally been of blue azurite which tends to blacken in contact with certain plaster mixtures.²⁸³ On the west wall, in the scenes of the Last Judgement and the Apocalyptic Madonna, and in the scenes from Revelation on the lower right nave wall, the backgrounds are formed of one large zone of colour, with no illusionary ground planes in the individual episodes; this is also found in Spanish manuscripts.

It is known that the Angevin court drew many artists from Rome, Tuscany and Umbria, such as Cavallini, Giotto and Lello da Orvieto, but a look at Spanish Last Judgement imagery will demonstrate that artistic influences at the Angevin court were not solely Italian. The Last Judgement scene in Paris, BN, Ms.Nouv.Acq.Lat.2290, f.160 (II.17), was produced in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century at the convent of San Andres de Arroyo in Palencia. In spite of the fact that the figures of the top rows are facing forward, there is nevertheless a striking resemblance in the costumes, postures, and in the density of the groupings to the figures in the procession in the Donnaregina fresco. While images of processions of the blessed generally derive from French cathedral sculpture, the figures in folio 160 may be equally indebted to the "bundled" figures with veiled hands in Spanish Beatus manuscripts (II.15). The tilted ranks of angels at the top right and left of the Last Judgement in S.Maria Donnaregina also recall those bundled figures. The circular Hell in Donnaregina may be related to the giant wheel which dismembers the wicked in folio 160. Another example of a circular motif associated with Hell is found in another Beatus manuscript dated c.975 (Gerona, ms.7, f.17) (II.18). Although these examples from

²⁸³ BORSOOK, xxviii; ZANARDI, 38.

Beatus manuscripts are much earlier than the Neapolitan frescoes, they represent an established tradition of Apocalyptic imagery which spread from Spain into France and continued well into the thirteenth century. Another circular Hell composition is found in a fresco in the Old Cathedral at Salamanca (II.19), dated c.1262, depicting a Last Judgement scene in which Inferno is a circular cave with a gigantic, voracious Apocalyptic dragon at the entrance. Such images suggest a possible Spanish source for the Hell composition at Donnaregina, transmitted through Catalan artists at the Angevin court.²⁸⁴

Our discussion now moves to the left side of the wall, to Donnaregina's Paradise scene. In the lower half of Paradise, four rows of a grand procession are led toward the Heavenly Gates by Christ and the Virgin (II.20).²⁸⁵ In the top row are Old Testament figures among whom Chierici has identified a seated central figure as Moses, and two figures at the far right as Adam and Eve (II.21). The second row depicts the ecclesiastical ranks of saints. The group at the right is led by deacons, probably the protomartyrs Stephen and Lawrence, as seen also at S.Cecilia in Trastevere. The central group includes S.Silvestro, in full papal regalia, and St Louis, bishop of Toulouse, both identified by inscriptions. A crowned figure, who as a lay person seems not to fit

²⁸⁴ I have looked for specific occurrences of Beatus manuscripts in Italian libraries, so far in vain. Manuscripts did travel, however, and it is quite likely that Spanish Apocalypse manuscripts were known to a royal family disposed to Joachimism and Apocalyptic themes. For Catalan influences in Naples see BOLOGNA, 57-62. I intend to continue, in a future publication, to explore these connections which are made stronger in the early 14th century by the Angevin political marriages with the houses of Aragon and Mallorca.

²⁸⁵ For attempts to identify the figures among the blessed see BERTAUX 1899, 41-44, 59-63; CHIERICI, 81-86; CARELLI & CASIELLO, 38-39; GENOVESE, 60.

logically within this row of ecclesiastics, probably represents St Louis, former king of France, canonized in 1297, standing behind his great-nephew, Louis of Toulouse, thus suggesting that the inscription, S.LUDOVICO, might refer to both of them in order to emphasize the dynastic theme. A fragmentary inscription identifies St Martin of Tours, another French saint. The third group of figures, at the left, is made up of monastic saints.²⁸⁶ The third row of blessed consists of two groups of female saints, among whom stand two figures with crowns and two male figures, one of them also crowned (II.22). Within a fairly homogenous group of female figures, the male figures and the single crowned female figure draw particular attention. Bertaux argues that the crowned male and one of the crowned female figures are to be identified as Charles II and Maria of Hungary because their crowns are identical to that worn by Louis IX (in the second row); each displays the lily of the Houses of France and Anjou.²⁸⁷ The lack of inscriptions, however, renders any identification speculative.²⁸⁸ While I am skeptical of all other identifications among the blessed, the strong dynastic emphasis in the program makes the identification of these three figures as Angevin family members plausible. I suspect, however, that there never were inscriptions for Maria and her family, only for the saints.

²⁸⁶ BERTAUX 1899, 43, has identified the four figures from the left as follows: St Dominic, St Bernard, St Francis, and St Benedict.

²⁸⁷ Less convincing is his identification of the male figure behind Charles as Philip of Taranto based on costume matches with the effigy of Philip on his tomb in S.Domenico. BERTAUX 1899, 60-62.

²⁸⁸ Unlike true *fresco*, when the surface of a painting executed *a secco* is damaged, there are no incisions or pigment which remain in the plaster to indicate the original design. Thus at Donnaregina we cannot know even whether the existing inscriptions are contemporary with the painting.

Depicting oneself and one's family with bold inscriptions in a fresco of Paradise would have constituted the sin of pride. Instead their crowns, and possibly other details of their costumes, provide a more subtle means of expressing the queen's dynastic ambitions and expectations for the afterlife.

The lowest register of Paradise depicts the arrival of the blessed, led by Christ and the Virgin, at the Gates of Heaven, inside which the three Old Testament patriarchs appear again, in a celestial garden, each holding tiny figures in his bosom. The celestial gate, it has been pointed out, is not that of the typical jewelled city of Jerusalem, but is rather an austere, fortified structure, resembling Angevin castles such as the Castel Nuovo in Naples.²⁸⁹ It is unusual for Christ to lead the blessed to Heaven, and his position behind, and equal in stature to the Virgin demonstrates her importance as intercessor and as mother and bride of Christ, themes dear to the female orders. Among the blessed who arrive at the gate, the aged couple to the right, led by angels, may be Adam and Eve appearing a second time. This second appearance may have been intended to contrast their age with that of the group in front of them, made up of children or adolescents. Thus the notion of succession is again repeated. The blessed already in the bosoms of the patriarchs are tiny children. While these are indeed tiny for reasons of space, the progressive diminution in scale and age from right to left, from outside to inside, is intended to illustrate the concept described in Matthew 18:3: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

God seals his covenant with Abraham, the supreme ancestor, on

²⁸⁹ Note also the lily theme in the finials above the crenelations.

three occasions: making him fertile (Gen.15), promising him a multitude of descendants (Gen.17), and guaranteeing that his promise will pass from generation to generation (Gen.22). The Old Testament thus establishes a connection between divine election and filiation, and the Gospels continue the correlation by claiming filiation between Christ and Abraham (Luke3:23-38; Matt.1:1-16). In this way the Bosom of Abraham is understood to symbolize Abraham's paternal function.²⁹⁰ It is this filiation which explains the double appearance of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Last Judgement at Donnaregina. The patriarchs appear above the altar and again within the celestial gate, not only in the hope that God will grant eternal rest to the ancestors of Abraham, but also to stress the concept of filial succession, especially within the Angevin dynasty. The inclusion of the three patriarchs in the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria Donnaregina is probably also a direct imitation of the imagery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, recalling to viewers the acquisition of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Charles I of Anjou in 1276, at the instigation of Gregory X.²⁹¹ The Angevins, as the children of Abraham and of Christ, and also the kings of Jerusalem, are the heirs to God's covenant with Abraham. This concept is strengthened by the appearance beside the altar, in the central section of the fresco, of the crowned King David, another royal ancestor of Abraham and Christ.²⁹²

²⁹⁰ For Abraham as genealogical and spiritual father see BASCHET 1993b; E. MANGENOT, "Abraham (sein d')," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1910-1967) I, c.111-116.

²⁹¹ J. DUNBABIN, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth Century Europe* (London, 1998) 96.

²⁹² The double appearance of Adam and Eve, the first parents, is also linked to the theme of filial succession (especially in the company of Seth) but their presence in the Last Judgement is more often due to their roles in the Anastasis as the first of the Old Testament

DATING THE FRESCOES

Bologna believes that the paintings which cover the window area on the choir's left wall (the Ascension and the Pentecost) belong to a later campaign than the rest of the Passion cycle on that wall (II.3).²⁹³ This implies that some decoration of the choir walls was executed prior to the extension of the gallery and that the two scenes were later added over the blocked window. The problem with this view is that the Ascension and Pentecost are major scenes in the Passion cycle and Pentecost was a major feast celebrated in the church to which was attached a large indulgence.²⁹⁴ It is unlikely that the Passion cycle would have been designed without these two scenes. The Elizabeth cycle may belong to a later campaign, leaving open the possibility that the two last scenes of the Passion were originally painted on the lowest register of the left wall.²⁹⁵ However, on the basis that the origins of some of the scenes in the Elizabeth cycle cannot be found in known narratives of her life (for example, *The Golden Legend*), it has been convincingly argued that only Queen Maria could have planned the cycle of her great-aunt Elizabeth.²⁹⁶ Indeed the Elizabeth cycle was probably

figures to be released from Limbo upon Christ's descent.

²⁹³ BOLOGNA, 135, n.125.

²⁹⁴ The bull of John XXII of 1316 granted indulgences of one year to the faithful who visited the church on the obligatory feast days: ... nelli giorni della Nativita, Resorrettione, e Pentecoste del Signore et in tutte le festività della Santissima Vergine a di Santa Chiara...., transcribed in Italian by BERTAUX 1899, 161.

²⁹⁵ LEONE DE CASTRIS, 289-290.

²⁹⁶ C. WARR, *Female Patronage and Female Spirituality in Italian Art of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, PhD dissertation, University of Warwick, 1994, 247-249. See also CARELLI & CASIELLO,

always intended as an integral part of the program, whatever its date of execution. Chierici's restoration report, moreover, deems the walls and window covering to be covered uniformly by the painted program.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, I have examined the restoration photographs held by the Soprintendenza in Naples in a search for traces of earlier layers of frescoes or indications of the original configuration of the choir, and have found no evidence to support separate campaigns on the north wall before and after the choir extension.²⁹⁸ What little evidence there is weighs in favour of dating the execution of frescoes on the choir's lateral walls to a period after the extension of the gallery. Keeping in mind the practice of working from the top downward,²⁹⁹ the Madonna of the Apocalypse and the Last Judgement which cover the entire west wall from the peak of the gable, were surely executed before the lateral walls of the choir and probably at the time of the canonization of Louis of Toulouse in 1317.

Louis, bishop of Toulouse, second son of Maria of Hungary and Charles II of Anjou, has been identified by inscription among the blessed in the Last Judgement scene (II.21). His canonization in 1317 has been used as a *terminus post quem* for the fresco. Since Bertaux first detected various hands and proposed that the decorative program

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²⁹⁷ CHIERICI, 38-42.

²⁹⁸ The photographs are held by the Laboratorio Fotografico della Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Napoli e Provincia. Neither the photos nor Chierici's report produce the kind of detail required by current technical and scientific standards.

²⁹⁹ To avoid spoiling already finished work. BORSOOK, xxv.

required many years to complete,³⁰⁰ scholars have speculated that two separate fresco campaigns might have been undertaken:³⁰¹ the first beginning immediately following Louis' canonization in 1317, the second after a brief interruption caused by the death of Maria of Hungary in 1323 and continuing until after the death of Philip of Taranto. Charles of Calabria and Philip of Taranto (son and brother of Robert of Anjou) have both been identified among the blessed and these supposed identifications have contributed to dating the completion of the Last Judgement scene after their deaths in 1328 and 1332 respectively.³⁰² This notion of two campaigns, however, was developed early in this century to account for the different hands at work, and to satisfy the passion of art historians for putting a name to every figure in the painting. There is no documentary basis for assuming two separate campaigns and there are no inscriptions to identify either Philip of Taranto or Charles of Calabria.

The west wall of S.Maria Donnaregina weaves Queen Maria's dynastic concerns into the theme of the Bosom of Abraham. The succession of the descendents of Adam, Abraham, David and Christ is associated with that of the Angevin monarchy and this takes place within the Last Judgement scene, which itself is placed within a larger Apocalyptic context with Joachite overtones. The question of the extent

³⁰⁰ BERTAUX 1906, 129.

³⁰¹ See BOLOGNA, 135-136; LEONE DE CASTRIS, 287; MATTHIAE, 131. In support of the theory of two distinct campaigns, it has been claimed that the Passion cycle and the cycle of St Elizabeth below it were prepared with different ground colours. W. ROLFS, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* (Leipzig, 1910) 18-19. But as already mentioned, arguments based on colour are untenable. CARELLI & CASIELLO, 16.

³⁰² BERTAUX 1899, 60-62; LEONE DE CASTRIS, 286.

to which Maria of Hungary was directly responsible for the program at Donnaregina has some bearing on the dating of the frescoes.³⁰³ If the decoration had not been completed before Maria's death, it would have been left in the hands of her successors, her son, Robert of Anjou, and his wife, Sancia of Mallorca.³⁰⁴ A consideration of the relation between the Last Judgement scene and the Beatific Vision controversy of 1331-1334 establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the Last Judgement scene and confirms that Robert of Anjou had no part in its design. The controversy revolved around pope John XXII who,³⁰⁵ in advanced years, began to have doubts about the immediate fate of the soul after death and whether the soul, separated from its body, would have access to the vision of the Divine Essence, face to face, known as the Beatific Vision.³⁰⁶ In the late thirteenth century saints were

³⁰³ See GARDNER 1995, 52; WARR, 229-231. For the opinion that Maria planned the program and secured its control before her death see BOLOGNA, 135-136, 144 n.125 (who excludes later additions); LEONE DE CASTRIS, 286; HETHERINGTON 1979, 75.

³⁰⁴ Five of Maria's eight sons, and two of five daughters, had already died. Robert, as king of Naples, was the only one based in Naples, although he spent much time near the Avignonese papacy between 1318 and 1324. For Robert of Anjou, see S. BADDELEY, *Robert the Wise and his Heirs, 1278-1352* (London, 1897); R. CAGGESE, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1922-1930).

³⁰⁵ John was the former Jacques D'Euse of Aquitaine, a lawyer and administrator, chancellor of the Kingdom of Naples (1308-1310), who was promoted in the Church due to the favour of the King of Naples. D. DOUIE, "John XXII and the Beatific Vision," *Dominican Studies* 3, 2 (1950) 154-174, p.154. John was councillor of Louis of Toulouse (1295-1297) and later of Charles II (1308). He was elected pope in 1316 and died at the age of 90 in 1334. For John's career see J. HEFT, *John XXII and Papal Teaching Authority* (Lewiston, NY, 1986) 2-5.

³⁰⁶ For the controversy over the Beatific Vision, see ROBERT D'ANJOU, ROI DE IÉRUSALEM ET DE SICILE, *La vision bienheureuse. Traité envoyé au pape Jean XXII*, M. DYKMANS, ed. (Rome, 1970); M. DYKMANS, *Les sermons de Jean XXII sur la vision beatifique*, *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 34 (Rome, 1973); J.E. WEAKLAND, "Pope John XXII and the Beatific Vision Controversy," *Annuaire Mediaevale* 9

generally believed to go immediately to Heaven after death but no precise definition had been pronounced on their relationship with God. In 1254 Innocent IV had pronounced that those dying free of sin would immediately pass to paradise and in 1274 Gregory X proclaimed the same immediacy for the punishments of the wicked.³⁰⁷ Throughout the thirteenth century, papal declarations increasingly moved the beginnings of one's reward or punishment from the end of time to the moment of an individual's death.³⁰⁸ Between 1316 and 1326 pope John XXII had expressed the orthodox view that the souls of the saints would enjoy the Beatific Vision immediately after death. At the canonization of St Louis of Toulouse in 1317, for example, the pope had said that Louis would contemplate God face to face.³⁰⁹

(1968) 76-84. For the theological background and all the participating arguments in the controversy, see C. TROTTMANN, *La Vision Béatifique des Disputes Scolastiques à sa Définition par Benoît XII*, BEFAR 289 (Rome, 1995). Robert's treatise is discussed pp.695-713.

³⁰⁷ INNOCENTIUS PP. IV, *Epistola X*, 1243, cap.XXIV: ...ad patriam protinus transvolant sempiternam.... [Innocent also condemns sinners to the eternal flames of Gehenna but without specifying when]Si quis autem absque poenitentia in peccato mortali decedit, hic proculdubio aeternae gehennae ardoribus perpetuo cruciatur...., in J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio*...., 48 vols. (Venice, 1759-1792 / Paris, 1903-1915), XXIII (1779), 582.

GREGORIUS PP. X, *Professio fidei Michaelis Palaeologi*, 1274: ...illorum autem animas, qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas...., *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, R.P.D.A. Tomassetti, ed., 25 vols. (Turin, 1857-1872), IV (1859) 27.

Both passages are cited in A. BERNSTEIN, "The Invocation of Hell in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. HANKINS ET AL., eds. (New York, 1987) 13-54, pp.18-19, n.16.

³⁰⁸ BERNSTEIN, 19-20.

³⁰⁹ ...Gloriosam resolutus in mortem qui hic vivens ambulavit in innocentia in medio domus suae ad Deum suum contemplandum in gaudio facie revelata in sua innocentia est ingressus...., Vatican City, BAV, Reg.Vat.63, Ep.156, cited in WEAKLAND, 76 n.2; DYKMANS, 1970, 56.

John XXII's first public expression on the issue was presented in his sermon for All Saints' Day, 1 November 1331.³¹⁰ Following the example of St Bernard's Fourth Sermon for All Saints' Day, the pope stated that before the Last Judgement, souls of the saints live below the altar of God, under the protection of the humanity of Christ, and that after the Last Judgement, they would be above the altar where they would see not only the humanity of Christ but also his divinity.³¹¹ Further sermons given during subsequent months continued in this vein, stating that the Kingdom of God and the full vision of his beatitude would only follow the General Resurrection and the Last Judgement, and adding that full punishment for the damned would also be postponed until after the Second Coming of Christ.³¹² John XXII's

³¹⁰ John XXII preached six sermons on the subject of the Beatific Vision between 1 November 1331 and 5 May 1334. D. PRYDS, *The Politics of Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Naples: Robert D'Anjou (1309-1343) and his Sermons*, PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994, 176.

³¹¹ For Bernard's sermon see BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, *Sermones II*, Sancti Bernardi Opera V, J. LECLERCQ & H. ROCHAIS, eds. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1968) 354-355: *In festivitate omnium sanctorum, sermo quartus*: De sinu Abrahae, et altari sub quo sanctorum.... John XXII takes Bernard's sermon out of context concerning the Anastasis of Christ and the fate of the souls in Limbo. Vatican City, BAV, cod.Barb.Lat.3169, f.67r.: *In festivitate omnium sanctorum*: ...Merces Sanctorum ante Christi adventum erat sinus Abrahae. Post adventum vero Christi et eius passionem et ascensionem in caelum merces Sanctorum est et erit usque ad diem iudicii esse sub altari, i.e., sub protectione et consolatione humanitatis Christi. Sed postquam Christus venerit ad iudicium erunt super altari, i.e., super Christi humanitate, quia post diem iudicii videbunt ... non solum humanitatem Christi, sed etiam eius divinitatem, ut in se est. Videbunt etiam Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. For Bernard's sources and the interpretation that Bernard's view may have been isolated, see TROTTMANN, 453-455.

³¹² John's second sermon (15 December 1331) states that souls do not see God perfectly until the General Resurrection; his third sermon (5 January 1332) asserts that the damned do not suffer full retribution until the final day of judgement. PRYDS, 177. See also WEAKLAND, 77-78; TROTTMANN, 433-442.

view was very unpopular with the theologians and a grand debate ensued. The orthodox belief was that it was contrary to God's goodness to cause the blessed to wait until the Last Judgement to contemplate the divinity of Christ.³¹³ More serious was the problem that John's view posed for the efficacy of prayers said for those in Purgatory. Were prayers not futile if the souls had to wait anyway until the Last Judgement?

The pope sent a treatise to Robert of Anjou, *De gloria animarum*, dated 3 September 1332, outlining his views on the Beatific Vision.³¹⁴ Robert of Anjou composed his first response to John's treatise in the last months of 1332, supporting the orthodox view.³¹⁵ Had Robert been responsible for the iconography of the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria Donnaregina after the death of Maria in 1323, surely the orthodox view of the Beatific Vision would have been apparent in the fresco, even long before the controversy flared up. Instead, the emphasis on the transference of the blessed from below the altar to a place above the altar in the Bosom of Abraham after the Last Judgement is entirely contrary to the orthodox view held by Robert and by most Christian

³¹³ For details of the debate see DOUIE 1950; WEAKLAND. John recanted on his deathbed possibly under the influence of the treatise written by cardinal Jacques Fournier (the future Benedict XII), *De statu animarum sanctorum ante generale iudicium* (Vatican City, BAV, Vat.Lat.4006, ff.16-225v), which supports the orthodox view but concedes to the pope the possibility that enjoyment of the Beatific Vision might increase after the Last Judgement. DOUIE 1950, 166; TROTTMANN, 747-761.

³¹⁴ WEAKLAND, 77, erroneously gives a date of 1331; DYKMANS, 1973, 169, gives the correct date. Also PRYDS, 192.

³¹⁵ Robert supports the orthodox view but remains always respectful of the pope. See DYKMANS, 1970, 19-26. The pope probably received the royal treatise in installments between November 1332 and January 1333. PRYDS, 193.

theologians in the early fourteenth century.³¹⁶ While it is not known specifically what view Maria of Hungary may have held on this issue, and it clearly was not an issue in her lifetime, the fact that the iconography reflects an archaic view of the fate of the soul popular in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries strongly suggests that the choice of iconography is attributable to the aging queen.³¹⁷ Leone de Castris has already attributed the continued repetition of the pictorial style of Cavallini in Naples to the traditionalist taste of Maria.³¹⁸

King Robert's orthodox view on the Beatific Vision controversy and his participation in the debate provide a *terminus ante quem* for the Last Judgement scene at Donnaregina. It is unimaginable that a Last

³¹⁶ Abraham appears with the blessed in his bosom beneath Christ enthroned in a 14th-century miniature of the Last Judgement scene in *Quattuor evangelia cum Walafridi Strabi glossa ordinaria et Anselmi Laudunensis glossa interlineari*, Vatican City, BAV, Vat.Lat.120, f.3r. Illustrated in BASCHET 1993a, Pl.III,1. In Abruzzo, in S.Maria ad Cryptas in Fossa (L'Aquilà) and S.Maria di Ronzano in Castel Castagna (Penne), both c.1280, Paradise is represented by the three patriarchs with the souls of the blessed in their bosoms, suggesting the continuation in the southern kingdom of the concept of eternal rest only after the Last Judgement. For the Last Judgement in Abruzzo see G. RASETTI, *Il Giudizio universale in arte e la pittura medioevale abruzzese* (Pescara, 1935); G. MATTHIAE, *Pittura medioevale abruzzese* (Milan, 1969); V. PACE, "Su S.Maria di Ronzano," *Commentari* 20 (1969) 259-269; V. PACE, "Precizioni sugli affreschi dell'oratorio di Bominaco," *Commentari* 21 (1970) 291-297; V. PACE, "Note su alcune scene evangeliche nella pittura del Duecento abruzzese," *Commentari* 23 (1972) 152-162; V. PACE, "Pittura del Duecento e del Trecento in Abruzzo e Molise," in *La Pittura in Italia: Il Duecento e il Trecento*, 2 vols. (Milan: Electa, 1985) II, 443-450; J. BASCHET, *Lieu sacré. lieu d'images. Les fresques de Bominaco (Abruzzes, 1263): thèmes, parcours, fonctions* (Rome, 1991).

³¹⁷ Images of the Bosom of Abraham are associated with the period of Gregorian reform because Abraham mediates between genealogical and divine kinship and because the image of the elect in his bosom is ideal for representing spiritual kinship. The role of the Bosom of Abraham was taken over in the 14th and 15th centuries by the image of God the Father. BASCHET 1993b, 758.

³¹⁸ LEONE DE CASTRIS, 286.

Judgement scene so clearly emphasizing this view would have been executed in a church under Angevin patronage at any point after Robert had entered the debate over the Beatific Vision controversy in October 1332. This argument does not, however, deny the association of the Angevin monarchs with the Last Judgement scene; in this case the scene is associated with Charles II and the church's patron, Maria of Hungary.

The *terminus ante quem* of 1332 proposed here is based on an aspect of the frescoes which has until now been overlooked, and it serves as the latest possible date for the completion of the frescoes of the west wall. Lacking documentation for an earlier completion date, the frescoes must be dated c.1317-1332. I propose, however, that the unorthodox iconography of Donnaregina's Last Judgement would not have been executed, under Robert's auspices, at any point after the death of the queen. There is no evidence that the decoration did not follow closely on the construction of the church; on the contrary, the documentary evidence indicates continuous progress. Thus, having been begun by 1317, the Last Judgement scene on the west wall was almost certainly finished before the death of Maria of Hungary in 1323.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ If the choir extension to four bays had also been completed before the consecration in 1320, the decoration of the entire choir might well have been completed before the death of Maria. For similar conclusions see BOSKOVITS 1983, 309-310, n.45, who believes that the indulgences granted to visitors in 1316 and the consecration in 1320 indicate that the decoration of the entire church was all but complete by 1320.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DONNAREGINA

Unlike the Apocalypse scenes on the right nave wall, the Last Judgement scene at S.Maria Donnaregina was not widely imitated.³²⁰ Maria of Hungary chose, according to my hypothesis, to depict a theme which had already become outdated, and which indeed by the 1330's would become heretical. So why is the fresco in S.Maria Donnaregina included in a thesis which concentrates on Last Judgement imagery in Central Italy?

First, Donnaregina is one of a small group of Clarissan churches which includes a Last Judgement scene in its program. To this group belong S.Pietro in Vineis in Anagni and S.Chiara in Assisi.³²¹ In all three cases the Last Judgement scene appears in association with narrative cycles, although those in Anagni and Assisi have been condensed and arranged to suit the budget and needs of the enclosed nuns.³²² The combination of Last Judgement and narrative cycles

³²⁰ Notwithstanding the fact that it was not visible to the lay congregation, its archaic iconography was not repeated in any known frescoes.

³²¹ For the program at S.Pietro in Vineis (c.1256), see A. BIANCHI, "Affreschi duecenteschi nel S.Pietro in Vineis in Anagni," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983), 379-384; S. ROMANO, "Gli affreschi di San Pietro in vineis," in *Il collegio Principe di Piemonte e la chiesa di S.Pietro 'in vineis,'* M. RAK, ed. (Rome, 1997) 101-116; see above Chapter I, n.156. For the frescoes in S.Chiara, Assisi (early 14th century), see Chapter III, n.429.

³²² In the choir at Donnaregina, the Passion of Christ and the lives of saints Elizabeth of Hungary, Agnes and Catherine appear on the lateral walls. In the choir at S.Pietro in Vineis the Last Judgement forms part of an unusual series: the Entry to Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Washing of the Feet, the Capture of Christ, the Flagellation, the Deposition, the Anastasis, the *Noli me tangere*, the Mission of the Apostles, the Last Judgement, the Stigmatization of St Francis, and three standing saints: Aurelia, Scholastica and Benedict. In the north transept in S.Chiara in Assisi is an Old Testament cycle; in the south transept the Last Judgement is the first scene preceeding

recalls the Roman tradition and brings to mind Demus' statement that large narrative cycles occurred only in Rome, Sicily and the sphere of Montecassino, mostly between c.1080 and 1300, usually in Benedictine monasteries, and often modelled on Old St Peter's.³²³ The Poor Clares lived under the rule of St Benedict before adopting the rule of the Franciscan order, and often were housed in former Benedictine monasteries.³²⁴ The presence of the images of Benedictine saints in the S.Pietro in Vineis cycle is evidence of a lingering Benedictine tradition among the Franciscan nuns. The occurrence of the Last Judgement scene in three early Clarissan churches may also reflect a continuing Benedictine tradition in nunneries in central and southern Italy.³²⁵

Secondly, the restoration and decoration of S.Maria Donnaregina was a monumental project commissioned by a royal female patron, a rare occurrence in Italian art of this period. In itself, Donnaregina's Last Judgement scene is important as an example of the role of the patron in determining the iconography of a Last Judgement scene. In this case, it is a very personal iconography promoting dynastic succession, and if we can accept Bertaux's identification of Charles II and Maria of Hungary among the blessed in Paradise, this may be the first occurrence of contemporary characters in a Last Judgement scene.

a cycle of the life of the Virgin, scenes from the Infancy of Christ and two scenes from the life of St Clare.

³²³ See Chapter I, n.74.

³²⁴ S.Pietro in Vineis and S.Maria Donnaregina are examples of this. See BERTAUX 1899, Appendix I, 158.

³²⁵ The large number of thirteenth-century Last Judgement scenes in Abruzzo which appear in a Benedictine context along with abbreviated narrative cycles, often with unusual iconography, supports the idea of a southern tradition which may have informed the frescoes in both S.Pietro in Vineis and S.Maria Donnaregina. See above n.311.

Among earlier Central Italian Last Judgement scenes, the only depictions of contemporaries are donor figures holding models of their churches as offerings: Abbess Constantia and Benedicta on the eleventh-century Vatican panel (I.10) and Enrico Scrovegni kneeling at the foot of the cross in Giotto's Last Judgement scene in the Arena Chapel, c.1305 (III.4); the figure of Secundianus in the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (III.11) is contemporary with Donnaregina, c.1320. The depiction of a queen among the group of four figures above the Resurrection in Donnaregina's central section surely represents Maria of Hungary in her role as donor, but she holds no model of Donnaregina. She stands beside St Francis and two other saints (II.12). This image has a specifically votive quality, demonstrating the Queens' devotion to St Francis and to Christ, and her hope for rest with Abraham. The devotional image is indeed a new concept which develops in Italy and Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Donnaregina's Last Judgement did not influence later versions of the scene. It is Angevin self-representation, on the other hand, which reflects the role of the Angevins in Naples and Italy as administrators of justice and reveals their association with the Last Judgement scene.

ANGEVIN ICONOGRAPHY

Following imperial tradition the Angevin kings associated themselves with the image of the seated ruler and a number of examples

of such images survive in various media.³²⁶ The statue of Charles I Anjou on the Capitol in Rome is an archetypical example of Angevin iconography (II.23). Charles, crowned and enthroned as judge between two lions, perhaps originally located on the gate of the tribunal at Aracoeli, once held a sceptre in his right hand and perhaps an orb in his left.³²⁷ The royal seals of Charles II and Robert of Anjou also bore the image of the seated ruler with orb and sceptre.³²⁸ In this part of the chapter I will introduce the argument, to be elaborated in subsequent chapters, that the Angevin association with the image of the enthroned monarch was not simply representative of the condition of royalty but was also closely connected with the particular secular judiciary role of the Angevin kings in Italy and I will propose that the association with the image of the seated ruler-judge also extended to the Last Judgement scene.

To develop my hypothesis concerning Angevin iconography, it will be useful to consider the tradition of textual and pictorial representations of kingship and judgement. The concept of sacral-kingship can be found as early as the ninth century and is based on the mutual exchange of attributes and privileges between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. Spiritual and secular powers borrowed from each other

³²⁶ J. GARDNER, "Seated Kings, Sea-Faring Saints and Heraldry: Some Themes in Angevin Iconography," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Colloque International, Rome-Naples 1995, CEFR 245 (Rome, 1998) 115-126.

³²⁷ Sceptre and orb are now lost. The left hand is part of a pre-1981 restoration. See G. MARTELOTTI, "Il Carlo d'Angiò capitolino. Riflessioni dopo il restauro," *Arte Medievale* s.2, 5, 2 (1991) 127-147, pp.141-144. For the statue and the tribunal at Aracoeli see Chapter I, nn.225,227.

³²⁸ GARDNER 1998, 118-119; J. GARDNER, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *ZfKg* 39 (1976) 12-33, p.24-25.

insignia, like crowns and sceptres, and titles, like *dominus*.³²⁹ In the eleventh century Peter Damian wrote of the king being found in the Roman pontiff and the pontiff in the king.³³⁰ By the thirteenth century, the availability of professional jurists trained in the universities made it possible for pope and emperor alike to regulate their domains with greater precision through the development of legislation and lawbooks, including Frederick II's law codes in Sicily, the works of Glanvill and Bracton in England, the ordinances of Louis IX in France, and the compilation of the *Decretals* around 1140 by the

³²⁹ For example, P.C. CLAUSSEN, "Ein freies Knie. Zum Nachleben eines antiken Majestas-Motivs," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1977) 11-27, traces the motif of the bare knee through centuries of images of royal, imperial and sacral power. Of the 13th century are Frederick II's seal (Fig.15) and Christ-Judge from the north transept tympanum at Reims cathedral (Fig.19) both depicting the ruling power enthroned with sceptre and orb and with his left knee bared. See also P.E. SCHRAMM, *Kaiser Friedrichs II. Herrschaftszeichen* (Göttingen, 1955) Figs. 80, 81, 91, 97. For the exchange of power symbols in the early medieval period, see P.E. SCHRAMM, "Sacerdotium und Regnum in Austausch ihrer Vorrechte," *Studi Gregoriani* 2 (1947) 403-457, which concludes with the Hohenstaufen period. P.E. SCHRAMM, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1956-) does not include Italy after 1250. See also E.H. KANTOROWICZ, "Mysteries of State: an Absolutist Concept and its Late Mediaeval Origins," *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955) 65-91, reprinted in E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley NY, 1965) 381-398, p.381.

³³⁰ PETRUS DAMIANI, *Disceptatio synodalis*, Opusc.4, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Ldl.I, 93, cited in K.F. MORRISON, "Peter Damian on King and Pope: an Exercise in Association by Contrast," in *Kings and Kingship*, ACTA XI Conference, Binghamton 1984, J. ROSENTHAL, ed. (Binghamton NY, 1986) 89-112, p.93. Visual evidence for sacral-kingship can be found in the sculptural programs of 12th- and 13th-century French cathedrals where images of French kings appear within niches in galleries on the façades as counterparts to the statues of Old Testament kings on the jambs of the portals. For the images of French kings as *Christus domini*, see J.G. PRINZ VON HOHENZOLLERN, *Die Königsgalerie der französischen Kathedrale. Herkunft, Bedeutung, Nachfolge* (Munich, 1965) 68-73.

Bolognese jurist, Gratian, under the authorization of Pope Gregory IX.³³¹ With the delegation of legal arbitration to trained judges, this interchangeability of attributes came to include King Solomon and the personification of Justice.³³² Justice had generally appeared among the other Virtues and Solomon had traditionally been depicted either within the scene of the Judgement of Solomon (I Kings 3:16-28) or paired with Sheba (I Kings 10:1-13).³³³ By the thirteenth century both Justice and Solomon (as king and judge) begin to appear in more secular contexts and come to be employed in the expression of the power of sovereigns and collective political and jurisdictional authorities.³³⁴ Justice is

³³¹ See C. MORRIS, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford, 1989) 552-568, 576-577; E.H. KANTOROWICZ, "Kingship under the Impact of Scientific Jurisprudence," in *Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society*, M. CLAGETT ET AL., eds. (Madison WI, 1961) 89-111; repr. in E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley NY, 1965) 151-166, pp.151-153. Also Chapter I, n.195ff. For the iconography associated with Gratian's Decretals, see A. MELNIKAS, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1975).

³³² The sceptre is an attribute of kings and priests as well as of jurisprudence through the oaths that are taken on the sceptre, and Justice, while usually female, holding scales and sword, sometimes is represented by a king denoting the active administration of law, according to A. DE VRIES, *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery* (Amsterdam-London, 1994) 403. See H. LECLERCQ, "Salomon," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne e de liturgie*, 15 vols. (Paris, 1907-1953) XV,I (1950) cols.587-602, esp. cols.591-595, who uses Byzantine Seals of Solomon, on which Solomon is nimbed and on horseback, as evidence that Solomon and the kings of Judah were considered saints in Early Christendom.

³³³ For the pairing of Solomon and Sheba as a representation of a type of marriage between Christ and his bride, the Church, and the Judgement of Solomon as precursor to the Judgement of Christ see E. MÂLE, *Religious Art in France: the Thirteenth Century. A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, H. BOBER, ed., M. Mathews, trans. (Princeton NJ, 1984) 157; W. SAUERLANDER, *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich 1140-1270* (Munich, 1970) 118. See also above, Chapter I, nn.226-228.

³³⁴ P. RÉFICE, "Giustizia," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, 10 vols. to date (Rome, 1991-) VII (1996) 1-10, p.1.

widely represented on funerary monuments as a typical virtue of sovereigns and legal councillors.³³⁵

Angevin ruler iconography was clearly influenced by the numerous examples of the enthroned Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VI and Frederick II. Frederick II (1194-1250), Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily,³³⁶ is depicted enthroned with an orb in his left hand and a cross in his right hand among the images of successive emperors of the Holy Roman Empire on the sepulchral *arca* of Charlemagne in the palace chapel of the cathedral at Aachen (II.24).³³⁷ Charles of Anjou was undoubtedly familiar with the pictorial

³³⁵ For example, the dismembered tomb of Margaret of Brabant sculpted by Giovanni Pisano in 1312-13 (Genoa, Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola), on which see J. GARDNER 1992, 108ff, and the lawyer portraits and tribunal scenes in 13th- and 14th-century Bolognese doctors' tombs, on which see E.H. HARRISON, *A Study of Political Iconography on Six Italian Tombs of the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, 1990).

³³⁶ Frederick II was born in the Marches in 1194 to Constance of Altavilla (daughter of Roger II of Sicily) and Emperor Henry VI Hohenstaufen (also King of Sicily 1194-1197). Before her death in 1198, Constance appointed Innocent III her son's guardian and regent of the Kingdom of Sicily. Frederick succeeded to the Sicilian throne in 1198, was elected King of Germany in 1211, crowned King of the Romans at Aachen in 1215, and crowned by Honorius III in Rome in 1220 as Holy Roman Emperor. He was also crowned King of Jerusalem in 1229. "Federico II imperatore," *Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano*, 15 vols. (Rome, 1955-1984), IV (1956), 661-662; M. DI BERARDO, "Federico II imperatore," *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, 8 vols. to date (Rome, 1991-) VI (1995), 104-132, pp.104-105; J-C. MAIRE VIGUEUR & M.S. CALÒ MARIANI, *Federico II. Storia e leggenda di un grande imperatore in Medioevo Dossier* 1, 1 (1998) 1-98, p.6-12.

³³⁷ In a symbolic gesture, Frederick had the relics of Charlemagne translated in 1215 from a wooden casket to the new *arca* where his own image enthroned appears as the sixteenth successor of the great Emperor. *Diz. Encicl.Ital.*, IV (1956), 661-662; DI BERARDO, 104-132; MAIRE VIGUEUR & CALÒ MARIANI, 24. For the propaganda utilized by the Angevins to promote themselves as successors of Charlemagne, see J-P. BOYER, *La Foi Monarchique: Royaume de Sicile e Provence (mi-XIII^e - mi-XIV^e)*, in P. CAMMAROSANO, ed., *Le Forme della Propaganda Politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, Convegno Internazionale, Trieste 1993, CEFR 201 (Rome, 1994) 85-110, pp.90-92.

tradition of the seated emperor, certainly from coins and perhaps also from manuscripts. The Roman statue of Charles may indeed have been modelled on such an image as the now badly damaged statue of the enthroned Frederick II formerly on the main façade of the Capua Gate, erected in 1234, which provides visual evidence of the nature of kingship and government under Frederick.³³⁸ As reconstructed, the main statues were arranged over the entrance gateway into the city (and thus also into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) so that one passed under the central image of a bust probably representing *Iustitia*, above which the seated Emperor himself presided.³³⁹ Indeed, in Frederick II's *Liber augustalis*, I:31, the emperor is said to embody in one person not only the father and son of Justice and the protector of Justice, but also

³³⁸ For the iconography of the gate as paradigmatic of the ideology of power expressed in Frederick II's Constitutions of Melfi, see D. ABULAFIA, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London, 1992 [1988]) 206-210, 280-284. Also RÉFICE, 1, who refers to the figure of the Emperor on the Capua Gate as representing a *iudex*. She mentions the *Sachsenspiegel*, the oldest German juridical text, written by Eike von Repgow between 1225 and 1230, which describes the behaviour and costume of judges (cloak, sword/ staff, and distinctive hat/crown). The concept of the divine origin of the law is expressed in the prologue, "Got in selve recht, dar umme is em recht left," accompanied by an image of Christ in Majesty holding a sword in his right hand and a book in his left while he invests a chief administrator of justice.

³³⁹ The gate was torn down by the Spanish in 1557 and is now known from drawings, descriptions and the surviving fragments of sculpture. For the 1928 reconstruction drawing by Andrea Mariano (Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano), see M. D'ONOFRIO, "La Porta di Capua," in *Federico II e l'Italia. Percorsi, Luoghi, Segni e Strumenti*, ex.cat. (Rome, 1995) 229-240, Pl.IV.1; Also GARDNER 1998; J. GARDNER, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Medieval Italian City Gate," *DOP* 41 (1987) 199-213, pp.208-209 (= GARDNER 1987b); J. GARDNER, Review of exhibition, "Federico II e l'Italia," *BM* 138, 1 (1996) 424-426, Fig.93. Above the statue of Frederick II was the inscription "Quam miseros facio quos variare scio," and above Justice was written, "Cesaris imperio regni custodia fio." E. BERTAUX, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale. Aggiornamento dell'opera di Emile Bertaux*, A. PRANDI, ed., 7 vols. (Rome, 1978), II, 709-710.

the origin of Justice.³⁴⁰ Justice was flanked by Roman-styled busts of judges, thought to represent Piero della Vigna and Taddeo da Sessa, Frederick's leading officials, whose images were accompanied by incriptions. The judge on the Emperor's right-hand side addressed peace-loving faithful citizens: "Intrant securi qui querunt vivere puri;" and that on his left addressed law-breakers: "Invidus excludi timeat vel carcere trudi."³⁴¹ The idea of the city gate as *locus appellationis* can be traced to the Old Testament and became a custom among the Romans.³⁴² A similar concept is presented earlier in the miniature depicting the Ottonian Emperor Henry II as a judge, crowned, holding an orb, mantle raised over his left knee, and enthroned within a gateway surrounded by personifications of Virtues associated with *Iustitia* (top left corner): *Pietas*, *Lex*, *Ius* (in the other cardinal positions), with *Sapientiae* and *Prudentia* to the left and right of the

³⁴⁰ A. CERVONE, ed., *Constitutionum Regni Siciliarum*, Lib.III, Sumptionibus Antonii Cervonii (Naples, 1773) *Liber augustalis*, I:31: Non sine grandi consilio et deliberatione perpensa condendae legis ius et imperium in Romanum Principem lege regia transtulere Quirites, ub ab eodem, qui commisso sibi Caesareae fortunae fastigo per potentiam populis imperabat, prodiret origo iustitiae, a quo eiusdem defensio procedebat. Ideoque convinci potest non tam utiliter quam necessario fuisse provisum, ut in eiusdem persona concurrentibus his duobus, iuris origine scilicet et tutela, ut a iustitia vigor et a vigore iustitia non abesset. Oportet igitur Caesarem fore iustitiae patrem et filium, dominum et ministrum: Patrem et dominum in edendo iustitiam et editam conservando, sic et in venerando iustitiam sit filius, et in ipsius copiam ministrando minister.... cited in E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton NJ, 1992 [1957]) 98 n.34.

³⁴¹ BERTAUX 1978, II, 709-710.

³⁴² Absalom mentions judgement dispensed by the king at the city gate (2 Samuel 15:2-3). The Roman emperors incorporated the symbol of the gate along with their own images on coins and seals to signify Justice and to designate Rome. See E. BALWIN SMITH, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton NJ, 1956) 10-13, cited in S. PFEIFFENBERGER, *The Iconology of Giotto's Virtues and Vices at Padua*, PhD dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1966, 22-23.

Emperor-Judge.³⁴³ The reconstructed composition of the Capua Gate conveys a clear message: the enthroned ruler presides over the peaceful governance of his realm assisted by his judges, who derive their power directly from him, and by Justice, whose sentences are pronounced to the ruler's right and left. Such a configuration recalls the composition of Last Judgement scenes where the enthroned Christ presides over the judgement, assisted by the apostles, where the sentences of judgement (Matthew 25:34,41) are pronounced to the right and left of Christ, and where St Michael, on a lower register directly below Christ, dispenses Christ's judgement, weighing the deeds of souls on the balance scales, as seen on numerous French cathedral portals.³⁴⁴

The sculptural program of the south transept of the cathedral of Strasbourg, dated c.1230, demonstrates the interconnectedness of the concepts of kingship, justice and the Last Judgement of Christ. The transept was used by the bishop as a court of law in the thirteenth century.³⁴⁵ In the centre of the south transept, behind the double

³⁴³ Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Vat.Ottob.Lat.74, made at Regensburg and presented as a gift to the monastery of Monte Cassino c.1022-1024. Fol. 193v bears the image of Emperor Henry II in place of the expected St John author portrait. Henry appears in the central roundel, wearing a *stola* over his imperial costume. Among the inscriptions noting the sacred nature of the emperor and the law, that in the lower roundel (surrounding a scene of a condemned man's appeal to his executioner) reads, "Caesaris adnutum dampnant lex iusque tyrannum." J. WOLLESEN, "A Pictorial *Speculum Principis*: the Image of Henry II in Cod.Bibl.Vat.Ottobonensis lat.74, fol.139v [sic]," *Word and Image* 5, 1 (1989) 85-110. Also P.E. SCHRAMM & F. MÜTHERICH, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, I: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768-1250* (Munich, 1981) 364, Pl.141.

³⁴⁴ For example, the central portal of the west façade at Bourges cathedral displays such a configuration.

³⁴⁵ SAUERLÄNDER, 124; L. GRODECKI & R. RECHT, "Le bras sud du transept de la cathédrale: architecture et sculpture," *Bulletin Monumental* 129 (1971) 7-38, Fig.10; P. WILLIAMSON, *Gothic Sculpture*

portal, a column supporting the vaults is decorated with three levels of sculpted figures representing a Last Judgement scene. Known as the Judgement pillar or the Angels' pillar, the top register depicts Christ-Judge flanked by angels carrying the instruments of the Passion. In the middle register are angels with trumpets to announce the General Resurrection, and below them are the four Evangelists holding scrolls.³⁴⁶ Although columns support the vaults of both transept arms, only that of the south transept is decorated, indicating not only the special function of that transept, but also that the Judgement pillar is related to the portal sculpture of the south transept façade.³⁴⁷ This is borne out by the thematic similarities in the façade sculpture. On the tympana and lintels of the double portal are scenes from the life of the Virgin.³⁴⁸ On the outer faces of the flanking piers are the figures of Ecclesia, left, and Synagoga, right, and on the outer face of the central pier there is a reproduction of the lost figure of Solomon, known from the Bruun engraving to have been enthroned, frontal, crowned, and about to unsheath his sword. A bust of Christ appeared above Solomon, holding an orb in one hand and blessing with the other. In the context of the trials which took place before the portals and within the south

1140-1300 (New Haven-London, 1995) 57.

³⁴⁶ SAUERLÄNDER, 124, Pls.136, 140. WILLIAMSON, 57, does not believe this to represent a Last Judgement because of the absence of the separation of blessed and damned. He sees rather the display of Christ's wounds and the presence of the Evangelists as representing a theme of redemption. However, the judging Christ, the instruments of his Passion, the trumpeting angels and resurrecting souls leave no doubt that this is an 'abbreviated' Last Judgement scene.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; SAUERLÄNDER, Pl.130.

³⁴⁸ The scenes on the lintel are reproductions of lost originals known from an engraving by Isaac Bruun of 1617, illustrated in *Ibid.*, Fig.64.

transept, the themes of Ecclesia and Synagoga, the wisdom and justice of Solomon (ancestor of the Virgin and predecessor of Christ) are related to the Last Judgement on the interior pillar.

The context of the tribunal at León cathedral confirms the idea that justice, kingship and Last Judgement were interconnected.³⁴⁹ The triple Gothic portals of the façade are separated by narrow niches formed in the spaces between the piers. In the left portal, in the keystones of the archivolts representing the Jesse Tree and the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, are busts of Christ: in the former, Christ is crowned as king among kings; in the latter, he makes the sign of benediction; the two images allude to both the temporal and ecclesiastical succession of his power. Among the jamb statues of the left portal, David and Solomon, both crowned and holding scrolls, flank the doorway. Appearing as partner to Solomon is the personification of Justice (a later insertion) holding sword and scales. The central portal of the cathedral façade is devoted to the Last Judgement scene with the apostles in the jambs, Christ-Judge in the tympanum above St Michael (with scales) and the processions of the blessed (left) and the damned (right).

In the Gothic canopied tabernacle in the niche between the piers that separate these two portals is a column on which is inscribed LOCUS APPELLATIONIS.³⁵⁰ Above the pillar is an image of the enthroned Solomon holding a sceptre.³⁵¹ Here Solomon, as king, is directly

³⁴⁹ On the sculpture at León cathedral see M.A. FRANCO MATA, *Escultura Gótica en León* (León, 1976); WILLIAMSON, 4.

³⁵⁰ Below the inscription the arms of León and Castile appear to have been scratched into the column. FRANCO MATA, 200.

³⁵¹ GARDNER 1998, 116-117, Fig.2.

associated with the justice dispensed in civil trials which were conducted in the portico of the cathedral, clearly in keeping with the pillared porch of judgement built by Solomon for that purpose (I Kings 7:7).³⁵² The concept of civil justice presided over by king Solomon is clearly related to spiritual justice presided over by Christ, and also to the wise and just kingship or governance of Solomon (assisted by Justice).

Returning to the Capua Gate, as Abulafia notes, Frederick II omitted from the gate any reference to his ecclesiastical counterpart, the vicar of Christ.³⁵³ The statue of Frederick II enthroned on the Capua Gate reflected imperial opposition to the expansion of papal temporal jurisdiction. The Emperor was anxious to suppress references to the overlord of the Kingdom of Sicily and to promote his own view that the monarchy was autonomous and independent of the papacy.³⁵⁴ In the end, Frederick II failed in his goal to unite the entire Italian peninsula under the imperial crown and to rule the secular realm of the empire alongside a papacy limited to power over the spiritual realm. Ironically, although Charles I Anjou represents the political antithesis

³⁵² FRANCO MATA, 200. Trials were also held in the porch of the Minster of Freiburg im Breisgau where a red sandstone image of the seated Solomon may once have held a sword. WILLIAMSON, 4. I cite also CHARLES LITTLE on the iconography of justice and seated kings in sculpture at the time of Frederick II, from a lecture given in London at the Courtauld Institute on 30 May 2000, who mentioned Freiburg and who suggested that civil trials may also have taken place before the façade of the south transept at Chartres cathedral, where the central portal jamb statues represent the prefigurations of Christ as priest and sacrifice; the Judgement of Solomon appears on the lintel of the right portal, with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba on its left jamb.

³⁵³ ABULAFIA 1992, 207.

³⁵⁴ M. BUTZEK, *Die kommunalen Repräsentations der Päpste des 16. Jahrhunderts in Bologna, Perugia und Rom* (Bad Honnef, 1978) 41-59.

of Frederick, in a certain sense he succeeded in the aim of unification where Frederick had failed. The Kingdom of Sicily was conferred on Charles by the papacy in return for expulsion of the Hohenstaufen from the Papal States and the independent city-states. In the guise of papal defender against the Ghibelline cause, Charles I placed his own trusted personnel in the most important offices in Guelf cities throughout the peninsula, essentially unifying the secular leadership of Italy as Frederick had only dreamed of doing.³⁵⁵ This concept of Italian unity became ever stronger with the long duration of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.³⁵⁶ This new partnership of secular and ecclesiastical powers

³⁵⁵ Between 1254 and 1343 all crusades preached in Italy were concerned with the establishment and defense of the temporal power of the papacy and often linked with Angevin interests. N. HOUSLEY, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982) 1-34. According to R. DAVIDSOHN *Storia di Firenze*, IV: *I primordi della civiltà fiorentina*, E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, trans. (Florence, 1962) Pt.1, 145, Charles I Anjou, while *podestà* of Florence, adopted the tactic Frederick II had taken in Tuscia (regarding the election of *podestà*), forbidding the election of his vicars in Florence without his order or the consent of his representative, but at the same time shrewdly allowing the Guelfs (the Ghibellines in Frederick's case) to believe they had elected them. Robert of Anjou and Charles of Calabria followed the same tradition but less tactfully. In 1304 Robert was elected captain general of the Tuscan Guelf league. In 1312 he was granted the *signoria* of Lucca and made Senator of Rome. In 1314 Clement V nominated Robert *Vicario dell'Impero in Italia* which made him papal representative everywhere north of Tuscany and the Papal States. CAGGESE I, 31, 199, 203. Robert of Anjou and pope John XXII agreed in 1323 to acquire the *signorie* of Italian cities against the renewed imperial threat. C. DE FREDE, "Da Carlo I d'Angiò a Giovanna I, 1263-1382," in *Storia di Napoli* (Naples, 1969-1978) III, 5-82, p.171. For Angevin domination of Rome and Lazio see M.T. CACIORGNA "L'influenza angioina in Italia: gli ufficiali nominati a Roma e nel Lazio," *MEFRM* 107, 1 (1995) 173-206; for Florence see Chapter IV.

³⁵⁶ For the 14th-century notion of a unified Italy in the imperial tradition with Robert as king, as described in the contemporary *Address from Prato* (London, BL, Ms.Bibl.Reg.6.E.IX), see E. SAENGER, "Das Lobgedicht auf König Robert von Anjou. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Geistesgeschichte des Trecento," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 84 (1988) 7-91, pp.60-69.

in Italy allowed the development of further interchange of power symbols which could not have occurred in the hostile conditions during Frederick's reign; now Angevin and Papal iconography was intended to convey essentially the same anti-imperial, anti-Ghibelline message through a united front.

The papacy, like the monarchy, also identified itself with the act of judging. Since the mid-twelfth century, with the introduction of the right of appeal, the papacy had been increasingly involved in legal matters within the Church.³⁵⁷ A century later, while the papal court concerned itself with heresy, mendicant rebels and ecclesiastical disputes, as well as enjoying an increasingly high profile in international politics requiring the cardinals to be well-educated in canon law, the Angevins operated on the civic judicial level, arranging the election of magistrates, judges and *podestà* (chief administrators of civil and penal justice) and fortifying the Guelf stronghold in Italy.³⁵⁸ Several portraits of Boniface VIII, who was a very distinguished lawyer before his elevation, portray him in papal regalia, seated frontally on

³⁵⁷ The right of appeal was modelled on imperial law, on the right to appeal to the emperor, handed down in the legal collections of Theodosius II and Justinian. A. PADOA-SCHIOPPA, "Hierarchy and Jurisdiction: Models in Medieval Canon Law," in *Legislation and Justice*, A. PADOA-SCHIOPPA, ed. (Oxford, 1997) 1-15, p.10. Many images of popes enthroned judging ecclesiastical disputes and criminal cases decorate the manuscripts of Gratian's Decretals. See MELNIKAS, II, Causa XV, Figs.35-39, 42-46 and Causa XIX, Figs. 23-45.

³⁵⁸ In the 13th and 14th centuries commentators on Roman law were concerned with establishing the legal basis of papal temporal power. Although papal power was believed to have divine origin, and secular grants of jurisdiction to the papacy were considered mere restitutions of power, the papacy increasingly needed legal title deeds to justify their jurisdiction. J. CANNING, "A State Like Any Other? The Fourteenth-Century Papal Patrimony through the Eyes of Roman Law Jurists," in *The Church and Sovereignty c.590-1918. Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks*, D. WOOD, ed. (Oxford, 1991) 245-260, pp.245-247.

a throne.³⁵⁹ Among the three enthroned figures whose hands remain intact, the left hand always makes the sign of benediction while the right holds either the keys, showing the pope's succession from St Peter, or a book, as on the Porta Maggiore at Orvieto. The image of Boniface VIII enthroned, blessing with one hand and holding a book in the other, is reminiscent not only of Christ enthroned with the same attributes but also recalls images of King Solomon crowned, enthroned, blessing with one hand and, in at least one known case (the cathedral of León), holding a scroll in the other. In its position over a city gate, suggesting a judicial function in the ancient tradition, the Boniface statue also recalls that of Emperor Frederick II on the Capua Gate.³⁶⁰ Butzek has argued, in connection with the Boniface statues, that the papal throne functions only as a *cathedra* and is independent of royal or imperial connotations.³⁶¹ This might have been true in the time of

³⁵⁹ Several sculpted figures survive, including a bust from his tomb in Old St Peter's (commissioned by Boniface himself), a standing bronze figure from the balcony of Palazzo Briada in Bologna, and five enthroned versions: one from the façade of Florence cathedral, one from the north exterior wall of the Duomo in Anagni (presiding over a large piazza), two from the city gates (Porta Maggiore and Porta della Rocca) in Orvieto, and another from the city gate (Porta Marzia) at Perugia. See *Mostra di Bonifacio VIII e del Primo Giubileo*, ex.cat., (Rome, 1950); G.B. LADNER, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1941-1984) II (1970) *Von Innozenz II. zu Benedikt XI*, 285-340, Pls.LXV-LXVI, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXVII, LXXVIII; BUTZEK, 41-59; J. GARDNER, "Boniface VIII as a Patron of Sculpture," in *Roma anno 1300* (1983), 513-527.

³⁶⁰ Similarly, Boniface's medal displays his bust in profile on the obverse, while on the reverse is a gateway flanked by torches and topped by a bust of Christ with a legend reading, "peream iusti intrabunt." See *Mostra di Bonifacio VIII*, 1; below n.364.

³⁶¹ She maintains that within the ideology of kingship characterized by Kantorowicz, in which the ruler is *lex animata* and his kingdom *religio juris* or *ecclesia imperialis*, displaying the ruler's supremacy left no room for interchange or collaboration with papal iconography. Nevertheless, she asserts that the bishop sat on the *cathedra*, symbol of his office and of apostolic succession, for sermons

Frederick II but not under the Papal-Angevin-Guelf regime. To demonstrate the alliance of papacy and monarchy, a statue of Charles I was originally planned to partner that of the standing bronze Boniface at the Palazzo Braida in Bologna.³⁶² The miniature depicting Boniface's coronation shows the pope seated on a Roman stool with lion terminals, with clearly imperial connotations.³⁶³ As Gardner notes, the only substantial precedent for an enthroned statue of the pope was the figure of Frederick II on the Capua Gate, which Boniface VIII might have seen during his trip to Naples for his coronation.³⁶⁴ The pope would have been familiar with Arnolfo's statue of Charles I in Rome, and this, too, was inspired by the image of Frederick. With the appropriation by the pope and the Angevin monarch of the image of the enthroned emperor came also the connotations of judgement and justice attributed to Frederick. To both the papacy and the Angevins the image of the Last Judgement would have held particular importance within the context of their respective roles as dispensers of justice, that of the Angevins being at the civic level of lay disputes, that of the pope and his cardinals concerning matters within the church, and above all, the

and jurisdictional acts, [ie., judgements]. BUTZEK, 46-47, 57.

³⁶² GARDNER 1983, 519.

³⁶³ *Opus metricum* of Jacopo Stefaneschi, Vatican City, BAV, Cod. Vat.Lat.4933, f.7v. Illustrated in LADNER 1970, Pl.XLVa.

³⁶⁴ GARDNER 1983, 515-517, who also notes that the busts of the judges on the Capua Gate provide the only real precedents for Boniface's portrait bust. Frederick II is responsible for the revival of antique prototypes in association with his aggressive imperial policy adopted after his return from Jerusalem in 1229. His *augustale* of 1231 is the first example of his appropriation of classical style as imperial propaganda. See PFEIFFENBERGER, 35.

fate of the souls of Christians after death and the Last Judgement.³⁶⁵

Angevin political propaganda speaks of the sacred character of the king and his family and elevates the sovereign to the level of priest and even sainthood. The king was addressed as "Sacred Royal Majesty," and his sacred nature had a juridical content related to his anointing, according to Marino da Caramanico's gloss on Frederick's *Liber augustalis*, written in the early years of the reign of Charles I.³⁶⁶ At Charles' coronation by five cardinals in Old St Peter's in 1266, the sacrament of holy unction was conferred on the king. Thirteenth-century Roman Church documents speak only of benediction and coronation for the emperor. Instead the French Coronation Ordo was chosen which uses the term "consecration." Both Charles II and Robert received unction, not on their heads, but on their hands, paralleling the anointing of priests.³⁶⁷ The vestments donned after the anointing had liturgical associations and marked a change of "state," characterized by the symbolic attributes of crown, sceptre, orb, and interestingly, in the tradition of Solomon and Justice, the sword.³⁶⁸

Wise counsel, mercy and justice were virtues generally expected of a ruler and these qualities were emphasized in thirteenth- and early

³⁶⁵ There is of course a complement to this, that the papal Curia in reality also concerned itself with matters of political importance even at the communal level, and that the Angevins, being a family of pious monarchs, were by the time of Robert's reign, zealously devoted to St Francis and the Spiritual Franciscans, and also very much concerned with Apocalyptic themes and the ultimate fate of the soul.

³⁶⁶ MARINO DA CARAMANICO, *Prooemium...in constitutiones regni Siciliae*, cited in BOYER, 85 n.2.

³⁶⁷ BOYER, 87.

³⁶⁸ MINIERI RICCIO, Suppl.II (1883) Doc XLIX, cited in *Ibid.*, 88.

fourteenth-century sermons commemorating kings and princes.³⁶⁹ It has been demonstrated that by making biblical references and comparisons to wise and just kings of the past, memorial sermons present a 'likeness' of the individual in a way similar to a painted or sculpted portrait. Sermons in honour of Charles II Anjou and Robert of Anjou likened their prudent judgement and wisdom to that of the Old Testament king, Solomon.³⁷⁰ King Solomon, son of David, built a temple for the Lord to which he added "a porch for the throne where he might judge, even the porch of judgement" (I Kings 7:7). His throne was made of ivory overlaid with gold and two lions flanked the arms while another twelve flanked the steps leading up to the throne (II Chronicles 9:17-19). The Queen of Sheba marvelled at the wisdom of Solomon and the peace and prosperity of his kingdom, saying, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel...to do judgement and justice" (I Kings 10:9).

In the Angevin sermons the image of the seated monarch is repeatedly linked with King Solomon, with allusions to wise judgement, and even to the Last Judgement. A sermon written for Charles II based on the text from Ps.28:10, "The Lord our king shall sit for ever,"

³⁶⁹ A disproportionately large number of sermons on members of the Angevin dynasty remain, written by the Neapolitan Dominican Federico Franconi. They are collected in a manuscript in Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm.2981. D.L. D'AVRAY, *Death and the Prince. Memorial Preaching before 1350* (Oxford, 1994) 52 n.203; also listed under Nicolaus de Asculo in J.B. SCHNEYER, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, 11 vols. (Münster, 1969-1979) IV (1975) 223, nn.216-222.

³⁷⁰ Referring to Charles II: ...Sic ipse fuit fecundus in filiorum generatione, et pacificus in regnorum gubernatione. Unde potest dici alter rex Salomon, scilicet rex pacificus....; and referring to Robert: ...Omnibus liberalibus artibus fuit sufficienter edoctus, et theologus magnus. Unde potest dici de eo illud Mt.xi: Ecce plus quam Salomon hic.... (Mt.xi should read Mt.xii). D'AVRAY, 99, 107.

represents three generations of Angevin kings and emphasizes the image of the seated monarch. Referring respectively to Charles I, Charles II, and Robert, the sermon states that sitting belongs to the person who triumphs, to the person who shows pity, to the wise man and, referring a second time to Charles II, to the person who is at rest.³⁷¹ The sermon goes on to compare the seated Charles I with Christ who sits on the right hand of God, and applies to him an Apocalyptic text (Rev.3:21): "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne." Charles II is praised for his compassionate rule, citing Proverbs 20:8: "A king that sitteth in the throne of judgement scattereth away all evil with his eyes."³⁷² This phrase could easily be applied to the miniature of Robert enthroned among the Virtues in the Malines Bible (II.29). Referring to the mercy of the King, Franconi's sermon on Charles II seems also to refer to Charles' attempt, while still Prince of Salerno, to protect his people from the injustice of his father's corrupt officials.³⁷³ The same sermon goes on to say of Charles as king: "...regnum istud potuit sibi dicere illud 3 R(eg.) 10 (9): Benedictus dominus deus qui constituit te regem ut faceres iudicium et iustitiam. Et re uera non

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 90, n.85: ...Circa primum sciendum quod sedere est triumphantis, condolentis, sapientis et quiescentis.... "Quiescentis" may refer to Charles II's rest in the afterlife but I suspect more likely to his unflagging efforts toward peace and his calm judgement in settling disputes.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 90-91.

³⁷³ Maxime utile subditorum seu regno est iustitia, quia secundum Agustinum I De ci(uitate) dei: Remota iustitia, quid sunt regna nisi latrocinia? Que quidem latrocinia et violentie et furta remouentur regali et legali iustitia....Hac iustitia dominus rex Karolus sancte memorie claruit,... *Ibid.*, 102. Charles had some of his father's high officials arrested and tried on charges of injustice.

solum ut faceres, sed etiam ut scriberes. Ipse enim fecit constitutiones seu statuta regni in quibus et iustitia et iudicium continentur, ita quod non solum potuit dici legis executor, sed etiam legislator...³⁷⁴

Many portraits of Robert of Anjou, particularly those made after the Simone Martini altarpiece, depict Robert enthroned.³⁷⁵ Robert's tomb, for example, charred by fire, stands behind the altar against the east wall of S.Chiera in Naples (II.25).³⁷⁶ Beneath the image of Christ in Majesty in the gable of the canopy, the kneeling Robert is presented to the Virgin by St Francis. In the register below, Robert appears as judge with orb and sceptre, crowned and enthroned against a pattern

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁷⁵ The Simone Martini panel depicts Robert kneeling in profile at the feet of his enthroned brother, Louis of Toulouse. Louis places the Angevin crown on Robert's head while angels hold a celestial crown over Louis. This image marks the renunciation of Louis' claim to the Angevin throne in favour of his younger brother, Robert, and is generally believed to have been produced in honour of Louis' canonization in 1317 and/or in defence of Robert's claim to the throne. See J. GARDNER, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *Zfkg* 39 (1976) 12-33; J. GARDNER, "The Cult of a Fourteenth-Century Saint: the Iconography of Louis of Toulouse," *I Francescani nel Trecento* (Assisi, 1988) 169-193 (= GARDNER 1988a); A.S. HOCH, "The Franciscan Provenance of Simone Martini's Angevin St.Louis in Naples," *Zfkg* 58 (1995) 22-38.

³⁷⁶ Robert's tomb was sculpted by Florentine masons Pacio and Giovanni Bertini shortly after the king's death in 1343. See O. MORISANI, "Aspetti della 'regalità' in tre monumenti angioini," *Cronache di Archeologia e di Storia dell'Arte* 9 (1970) 88-122, pp.95-108; SAENGER, 24-25. For Angevin tombs see GARDNER 1998, 124-125; J. GARDNER, "A princess among prelates: a fourteenth-century Neapolitan tomb and its northern relations," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 23-24 (1988) 31-60, pp.50-55.(= GARDNER 1988b) For the Angevin tombs as representations of power see B. BOGGILD JOHANSEN, "Zum Thema der weltlichen Glorifikation des Herrscher- und Gelehrtengrabmals des Trecentos," *Hafnia* 6 (1979) 81-105, pp.84-86, for Robert's tomb pp.88-91.

of the Angevin fleur-de-lys and flanked by painted Virtues (II.26).³⁷⁷ Lower still is Robert's sarcophagus upon which his effigy, dressed in Franciscan habit, lies at rest mourned by the Liberal Arts (II.27). In the lowest register, Robert appears in relief, enthroned again, in the centre of a series of Gothic niches within which sit the members of his family, arranged in order of dynastic succession. The tomb of Charles I, formerly in the Duomo at Naples but now lost, also depicted the King enthroned, but Tino di Camaino's tomb for the Emperor Henry VII (II.28), formerly in the cathedral of Pisa, is the only known large-scale predecessor of Robert's towering Gothic tomb in S.Chicara.³⁷⁸ Henry appeared enthroned, surrounded by his judges, above the recumbent effigy, on an enormous monument which stood behind the high altar. That the Angevin monarchs clearly emulated their defeated imperial predecessors and appropriated imperial iconography is also demonstrated by Robert's unsuccessful bid to buy the regalia of Henry VII after the emperor's untimely death in 1313 at Buonconvento.³⁷⁹

An example of the association of Robert of Anjou with the Last Judgement scene can be found in the illustrations of *The Address from Prato* (London, BL, Bibl.Reg.6.E.IX), a poem written in praise of Robert, presented as a gift from the city of Prato.³⁸⁰ The title illustration, folio

³⁷⁷ Beneath him is inscribed, "cernite robertum / virtutem repertum." *Ibid.*, 88-91; G.A. SUMMONTE, *Historia della città e regno di Napoli II* (Naples, 1601) 390.

³⁷⁸ W.R. VALENTINER, *Tino di Camaino* (Paris, 1935) 16-42.

³⁷⁹ MINIERI RICCIO, II (1879), Doc.XVI (20 settembre 1316), 15; GARDNER 1976, p.26.

³⁸⁰ The inscription on the binding reads *Convenevoli de Pratis Poemata, Roberto Regi Neapoli Dicata*. It survives in two other copies in Florence (BN, Ms.B.R.39, II,I.,27, formerly Magliabecchiana Cl.VII,17) and Vienna (Nat.Bibl., Ser.Nov.2639). See SAENGER, 7; CONVENEVOLE DA

1v (II.30), depicts an enormous marble throne symbolic of the *sedes apostolica* of the Roman papacy. Saenger interprets this image as having a double meaning, referring first to the *etimasia*, the empty throne prepared for the Second Coming of Christ on Judgement Day, and secondly, referring to the vacant throne of the papacy, longing for the return of the pope from Avignon.³⁸¹ On the right side of the throne are the arms of the papacy, on the left those of the Angevins, indicating sovereignty over their respective spiritual and secular jurisdictions. This is interpreted by Saenger to express the growing wish for a union between the papacy and the Angevins for common rule in Italy.³⁸² Dreams of a unified Italy aside, the juxtaposition of arms

PRATO, *Regia Carmina, dedicati Roberto d'Angiò re di Sicilia e di Gerusalemme*, C. GRASSI, ed. (Milan, 1982). The poem was composed (c.1335-36) just after the elevation of Benedict XII to the papal throne in 1334 and is a testament to the Guelf cause. A. BARBERO, "La Propaganda di Roberto d'Angiò Re di Napoli (1309-1343)," *Le Forme della Propaganda Politica nel Due e nel Trecento*, P. CAMMAROSANO, ed., Convegno Internazionale, Trieste 1993, CEFR 201 (Rome, 1994) 111-131, p.127. The tradition of panegyric, poems written for and addressed to the emperor on solemn occasions, comes from Byzantium and had already been adopted at the court of Frederick II, for example, for Frederick's Eulogy, ascribed to Petrus de Vineia. E.H. KANTOROWICZ, "The Prologue to *Fleta* and the School of Petrus de Vineia," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 231-249, repr. in E.H. KANTOROWICZ, *Selected Studies* (Locust Valley NJ, 1965) 167-183, pp.170-171.

³⁸¹ SAENGER, 12. Grassi charges Saenger with overloading his interpretation of some of the miniatures with excessive symbolism but it is clear that the poem laments the move of the papacy to Avignon, the deplorable state of Rome and the corruption of the clergy. Grassi concedes that the poem endows Robert with the virtues of wisdom and religious devotion and frequently exhorts Robert to intervene to unify Italy under his peaceful dominion. CONVENEVOLE DA PRATO, GRASSI, ed., 9-10. See also J-F. SONNAY, "La politique artistique de Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354) *Revue de l'Art* 55 (1982) 35-43.

³⁸² SAENGER, 13. Here and there throughout the manuscript are passages which present Robert as worthy of the role of supreme monarch of the Christian world, setting him up as the ideal candidate to govern the temporal realm in harmony with the pope, the spiritual leader. CONVENEVOLE DA PRATO, GRASSI, ed., 9, n.22. As Barbero puts it, if the manuscript was made in Tuscany, it is an eloquent

indicates a type of common Papal-Angevin rule that already existed in certain parts of Italy. The *stemmi* appear together also in the Palazzo dei Consoli in Gubbio, dated c.1336, and earlier in Florence (1296), over the south entrance of the Palazzo del Podestà where it is known that the Angevins controlled the commune in alliance with the papacy (IV.16).³⁸³

The illustration cycle which follows the title page of *The Address from Prato* begins with the Tree of Life on folio 2v. The subsequent eight miniatures depict separate elements of the Last Judgement, beginning with the enthroned Christ as Universal Judge (f.4v), and ending with an enormous cross on a marble throne which refers once again to the Apocalyptic throne (f.8v), followed by an image of the resurrected Christ Triumphant (f.9v).³⁸⁴ The next miniature (f.10v) portrays the enthroned Robert of Anjou in profile (II.31), like the effigies on imperial coins, crowned and holding orb and sceptre. He sits against a background of heraldic lilies filled with inscriptions referring to the lilies, and hence also to King Robert, as pure, gleaming, divine,

manifestation of Guelf public opinion; on the other hand, if it is a Neapolitan work, it must be read as proof of Robert's desire to present himself publically as the saviour of Italy. BARBERO 1994, 127.

³⁸³ Judiciary bodies (*podestà*, judges, penal courts) deliberated cases in Florence's Palazzo del Podestà. A door was opened in 1296 for litigants to enter from Piazza S.Apollinare, over which the arms are still visible. "È quella, sormontata da stemmi, prospiciente l'attuale via della Vigna Vecchia," ASF, Provv.6, c.114r (10 September 1296). Between 1266 and 1328 Charles I was *podestà* of Florence for 13 years, Robert was *signore* for 8 years, Charles of Calabria *signore* for nearly 3 years, and Angevin representatives were a constant presence. See Chapter IV, n.510ff, n.551ff.

³⁸⁴ Three miniatures (folia 6r, 6v, 7r) are devoted to the nine angelic orders, three depicted in each.

etc.³⁸⁵ This portrait of the enthroned Robert begins a new pictorial cycle and a new part of the text glorifying Robert as World Ruler, and clearly represents him, even though not frontally in judgement, as the secular counterpart of the judging Christ (f.4v).³⁸⁶

Two miniatures from the Malines Bible, c.1340, illustrated by Cristoforo d'Orimina and commissioned by Nicolò d'Alife, jurist and principal collaborator of King Robert, represent Robert frontally enthroned.³⁸⁷ On the title page, the Angevin genealogy is represented in three registers on which the Angevin kings and queens are enthroned and flanked by their heirs. On the verso of the title page Robert sits on a throne with four lions, crowned, holding orb and sceptre, and surrounded by Virtues (II.29). The image of *Iusticia* is slightly more prominent than the other Virtues. The inverted images of the Vices, belonging to an undefined otherworld, are the negative counterparts of the Virtues, and the composition clearly communicates that Robert's wise judgement, conquers evil.

This section of the chapter has demonstrated that the image of the enthroned Angevin ruler carried with it the power symbolism previously ascribed to emperors, King Solomon and personifications of Justice. It was used to defend and promote the Angevin claim to the rule of Sicily, granted to Charles I by the papacy, and to promote the

³⁸⁵ For example: Proles regalis hoc flore potet specialis; Flos est candorus hic et stat semper odoros; Aurea sunt cara quia sunt hoc lilia rara; Rex ego sum certus que flos est iste Robertus.

³⁸⁶ Popes as judges in the Decretals are represented enthroned, sometimes frontal, in the manner of Christ-Judge, sometimes in profile, in the manner of Solomon in scenes of the Judgement of Solomon. See above n.357.

³⁸⁷ Louvain, Universiteitsbibl., Fac.Theol.1. See SAENGER, 26-29.

Angevin role as defenders of the papacy and the Guelf cause throughout Italy. Certainly the Arnolfo sculpture of Charles I on the Capitol in Rome was not the only one of its type. A statue of Charles II is recorded in the Duomo of Naples, and Aragonese ambassadors reported to James II in 1312 that, in Piacenza, Henry VII had had a statue of an Angevin king (*rey Karles*) removed.³⁸⁸ Besides the Last Judgement scene in Donnaregina, a fragment of only one other Angevin Last Judgement scene survives in Naples, in S.Restituta, dated about 1300 and painted in the style of Cavallini. It was, surely, a part of the renovations to the Duomo undertaken by Charles II.³⁸⁹ Unfortunately not enough remains of the other Angevin building projects in Naples to determine if there might have been other Last Judgement scenes.³⁹⁰ The Piacenza statue and Arnolfo's statue of Charles I demonstrate that Angevin iconography and patronage were not limited within the *Regno*. Interestingly, the revival of the Last Judgement scene in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century is particularly evident outside the *Regno* and, like statues of Boniface VIII, in monuments associated with the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance in Tuscany and the Patrimony of

³⁸⁸ B. CANTERA, *Ricordi di fatti storici avvenuti nella cattedrale di Napoli fino all'anno 1500* (Naples, 1884) 9; H. FINKE, *Acta aragonensia I* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1908) 288. Both cited in GARDNER 1983, 516 n.24.

³⁸⁹ S.Restituta was built in the 4th century. Part of it was destroyed and the rest renovated in the Gothic style when the Duomo was built around it. Works began late in the reign of Charles II and continued into the 14th century. R. DI STEFANO, *La cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, Restauro, Scoperte, Ritrovamenti* (Naples, 1975) 25-26.

³⁹⁰ Several Last Judgement scenes survive from the Angevin period in other parts of the *Regno*, including Abruzzo, Molise, Apulia and the Marches: for example, S.Maria ad Cryptas in Fossa, S.Maria in Lago in Moscufo, and S.Leonardo in Bitonto. A comprehensive treatment of these scenes and their relation to Angevin political propaganda remains to be undertaken.

St Peter. It is to this subject that we now turn.

III

THE FIRST TUSCAN INNOVATIONS

Around the turn of the fourteenth century, particularly within the sphere of Tuscan art, the Last Judgement begins to appear more frequently and to display some dramatic changes in iconography. The apparently increasing occurrence of Last Judgement scenes may simply be an accident of survival, but their concentration in Guelf cities and their distinctive iconography would seem to indicate a new interest in the theme as a subject for painting. This burst of innovation was the result of a complex set of circumstances. One of these was the rise of the penitential movement promoted by the Franciscans in Umbria and Tuscany in the thirteenth century. Another was the resounding victory of the Guelfs over Manfred's imperial forces at Benevento in 1266 as a result of the intervention of Angevin military forces, and the subsequent expansion of the Guelf city-states in Tuscany, particularly Florence, under Angevin protection. Even before the move of the papacy to France in 1309 art patronage in Florence was already flourishing under Guelf, Papal and Angevin rule. In this chapter I will propose that the particular choice of a Last Judgement scene reflects not only the piety and penitence of the patrons but also their allegiance to the

Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the earliest surviving monumental "Tuscan" Last Judgement scene, Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel in Padua.³⁹¹ Giotto's Last Judgement is a significant example of the theme. Although beyond the usual geographical parameters of this study, it was nevertheless painted by an important Florentine artist, located in a Guelf city, and its iconography was characteristically Tuscan. The influence of Giotto's fresco becomes clear below, in the section devoted to the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania whose decoration is dependent on the Padua fresco. Characteristic of the earliest Tuscan examples of the Last Judgement scene is the emphasis on a large cross, the intercession of the Virgin directly among the blessed, and the introduction of the image of the penitent patron into the scene.

THE ARENA CHAPEL, PADUA

Giotto's Last Judgement scene in the Arena Chapel in Padua was probably completed by 1305, the year in which a document records the loan of wall-hangings from S.Marco in Venice to the chapel's patron,

³⁹¹ The term "Tuscan" in this chapter refers to Last Judgement scenes produced not only in Tuscany but within the Tuscan sphere of artistic influence. Thus are included frescoes in Assisi (Umbria), Tuscania (Lazio), and Padua (Veneto). For the literature on the Arena chapel see G. BASILE, *Giotto: La Cappella degli Scrovegni* (Milan, 1992) 9-23; A. DERBES & M. SANDONA, "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: the Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua," *AB* 80, 2 (1998) 274-291, esp. n.6.

Enrico Scrovegni, for the consecration ceremony of the chapel (III.1).³⁹² The chapel has a single nave, a barrel-vaulted ceiling, and six windows along the south side of the nave. On the walls of the nave are disposed an extensive cycle of the life of the Virgin, including six pre-Marian scenes, and a cycle of the life of Christ, beginning with a very prominent Annunciation scene on the chancel arch of the chapel. The two cycles unfold over three registers in the "concentric" or "wraparound" pattern common in medieval cycles.³⁹³ The program culminates in the Last Judgement scene which covers the entire west wall of the chapel. The decoration of the chapel has been attributed to Giotto with much supporting evidence.³⁹⁴

Giotto has a reputation, largely through Vasari's biography, for extensive innovation in painting.³⁹⁵ Perhaps not recognized, and certainly not admitted by Vasari was the influence on Giotto's painting of his sojourn in Rome around 1300.³⁹⁶ Evidence of Cavallini's influence

³⁹² G. PREVITALI, *Giotto e la sua bottega* (Milan, 1993 [1967]) 151-155, Regesto Documentario, 16 marzo 1305. For other documents pertaining to the chapel see J.H. STUBBLEBINE, *Giotto: the Arena Chapel Frescoes* (New York, 1969) 103-131; R.H. ROUGH, "Enrico Scrovegni, the Cavalieri Gaudenti and the Arena Chapel in Padua," *AB* 62 (1980) 24-35, n.1; and F.F. D'ARCAIS, *Giotto* (Milan, 1995) 370-371.

³⁹³ See Chapter I, n.73.

³⁹⁴ See nn.347-348 above. Also F. DA BARBERINO, *I documenti d'amore di Francesco da Barberino*, F. EGIDI, ed. (Rome, 1912) II, 165, written c.1308-1318, refers to Giotto's figure of Envy on the dado of the chapel. Reproduced in STUBBLEBINE 1969, 109.

³⁹⁵ VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Text, 95-123.

³⁹⁶ For Giotto's chronology see D'ARCAIS, 372. Giotto painted frescoes for Boniface VIII in the loggia of the Lateran and worked for the Stefaneschi family, producing the double-sided triptych for Old St Peter's. See J. GARDNER, "The Stefaneschi Altarpiece: a Reconsideration," *JWCI* 37 (1974) 57-103. For a later dating of the Stefaneschi altarpiece see B. KEMPERS & S. DE BLAAUW, "Jacopo Stefaneschi, patron and liturgist. A new hypothesis regarding the date,

can be seen in Giotto's Arena Chapel Last Judgement (III.2). Giotto's composition is made up of component parts isolated on a solid blue background. It has been noted that Giotto eliminated the horizontal bands that traditionally separate the registers in earlier Italian Last Judgement scenes,³⁹⁷ but this Cavallini had already accomplished in 1293 (I.25). Anticipation of Giotto's naturalism, and of his simplicity of form and composition, is already evident in the figures of the apostles at S.Cecilia in Trastevere (I.23) nearly a decade earlier. Nevertheless, Giotto made great strides in the advancement of these first tentative developments of a new style through his invention of spacial devices and dramatic "stage" settings. The enthroned apostles of the Last Judgement at Padua are placed on a dais which curves at either end, causing the apostles at far right and left to appear in profile, and creating the illusion of a concave space (III.3). The curve of the river of fire, on the right side below the apostles, and the upward diagonal of the procession of the blessed, in the lower left corner, complement this effect (III.2). The most splendid illusionary device is the depiction of the angels unrolling the heavens at the top of the composition; the image appears to peel the paint from the wall, transforming the entire upper part of the wall into a large concave scroll.

iconography, authorship and function of his altarpiece for Old St Peter's," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 47 (1987) 83-113. In these projects Giotto was operating within the same circle of patronage as Pietro Cavallini. See above Chapter I, n.196ff. For Giotto's adaptation of ancient fresco techniques and illusionistic devices learned in Rome, see J. GARDNER, "Giotto: 'First of the Moderns' or Last of the Ancients?" *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1991) 63-78.

³⁹⁷ OFFNER III, V, 251-253. Clearly delineated registers are a Western feature seen at, for example, Torcello, S.Angelo in Formis, S.Maria Immacolata at Ceri and the Vatican panel n.526.

The iconography of Giotto's Last Judgement is also a mixture of tradition and innovation. Within the western tradition are the dominating figure of the enthroned Christ, the deceased rising from coffins at the General Resurrection, and the blessed grouped in processional rows. From the Byzantine tradition are the river of fire, the scroll of heaven, and the sun and the moon within it. Innovative is the placement of the Virgin at the head of the procession of the blessed, emphasizing her role as *mediatrice* between this world and the next (III.12). She appears a second time in the Last Judgement scene among the three figures to whom Enrico Scrovegni presents the model of the chapel (III.4).³⁹⁸ The emphasis on the Virgin in the decorative program reflects the fact that the Arena Chapel was dedicated to several aspects of the Virgin, most prominent among them the Virgin of Charity and the Virgin Annunciate,³⁹⁹ which in turn reflects the particular devotion of the patrons.

Besides Enrico Scrovegni, to whom sole patronage had been generally attributed, it has been proposed that the chapel was a joint commission between Enrico and the confraternity of the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*, of which he may have been a member.⁴⁰⁰ Schlegel has

³⁹⁸ For the various identifications offered for these three figures see D.C. SHORR, "The Role of the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgement," *AB* 38 (1956) 207-214, repr. in STUBBLEBINE, 169-182, p.173 n.18.

³⁹⁹ The chapel was consecrated on the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, 1305. It was known variously as S.Maria Annunziata, S.Maria della Carità, S.Maria Gaudentia de Padova, S.Maria Mater Domini and S.Maria della Rena. ROUGH, 26 n.18.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-25. Objections to Rough's argument have been voiced by R. SIMON, "Not the Cavalieri Gaudenti," appendix to "Giotto and After: Altars and Alterations at the Arena Chapel Padua," *Apollo* 142 (1995) 24-36, p.36, who questions the objectivity and reliability of Rough's sources: the 14th-century chronicler Giovanni da Nono who despised the Scrovegni family, and the 18th-century historian of the

proposed that the figure of Scrovegni forms part of a complex pictorial scheme, which includes the figures of Satan, Judas and assorted usurers, and was designed to expiate the sins of both Enrico and his father, Reginaldo, accused of usury.⁴⁰¹ Thus Enrico's donation of the chapel to the Virgin Mary and his supposed membership in the *Frati Gaudenti*, a confraternity founded in 1261 and devoted to both the Virgin and the suppression of usury, may have been intended to ensure his eternal salvation. The *Frati Gaudenti*, however, known for their hypocrisy and excessively luxurious ways, were reviled in Dante's *Inferno* 23:103. If Giovanni da Nono was accurate in his claim that Enrico was a member of the *Frati Gaudenti*, Enrico's later renunciation of the *Cavalieri* and denial of their financial contribution to the building of the Arena Chapel may have been intended to redeem his reputation as well

Frati Gaudenti, Domenico Federici, who was interested in promoting the order's claim to the chapel. See DERBES & SANDONA, n.8. On the confraternity, see "Gaudenti, Frati," in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 36 vols. (Rome, 1949-1952) XVI (1949) 455-456.

⁴⁰¹ Usury was considered a mortal sin; the Third Lateran Council of 1176 proclaimed that usurers would not receive Holy Communion nor be allowed Christian burial if they died without atonement. This was reaffirmed at the Councils in Lyons in 1274 and Vienna in 1311. For the Scrovegni as usurers see U. SCHLEGEL, "Zum Bildprogramm der Arena-Kapelle," *ZfKg* 20 (1957) 125-146, trans. in STUBBLEBINE, 182-202, pp.185-186. GARDNER 1991, 66, is cautious of Schlegel's theory since Scrovegni's bitter enemy, Giovanni da Nono, in his chronicle of Padua, never accuses Enrico of usury. For documents implicating Enrico in usury see J.K. HYDE, *Literacy and its Uses: Studies on Late Medieval Italy* (Manchester, 1993) 188. On this question see DERBES & SANDONA, nn.17, 21. Ironically, the papacy condoned, and even participated in, a usurious protocapitalistic economy: the trade agreements between Florentine bankers, Tuscan cloth merchants and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily involved enormous loans to the Angevin kings in exchange for privileges and favours, as well as money. See D. ABULAFIA, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265-1370," *The Economic History Review* s.2, 34, 3 (1981) 377-388.

as his soul.⁴⁰² In any case, Enrico is portrayed in the fresco as the principal donor, interacting directly with the Virgin to whom he presents the model of the chapel. The kneeling figure who supports the model opposite Enrico has been identified as a member of either the *Fрати Gaudenti* or the Augustinian Order.⁴⁰³ Another tiny figure, who embraces the cross while hiding behind it, has not been convincingly identified.⁴⁰⁴ The very large and isolated cross of Giotto's Last Judgement is rare in Italian medieval monumental paintings of the scene, but as we shall see, it is an identifying feature of a small group of Tuscan Last Judgement scenes. The appearance of a similarly large cross on a panel attributed to Guido da Siena or his school, dated c.1280 (III.5),⁴⁰⁵ indicates that the motif did not originate with Giotto, although his Padua fresco is the earliest surviving monumental example.

Enrico Scrovegni's choice of a Last Judgement scene for the Arena Chapel reflects not only his devotion to the Virgin and his

⁴⁰² This is recorded in Giovanni da Nono's chronicle: Henricus de Scruffegnis...fecit etiam fieri ecclesiam sancte Marie a Caritate in loco Arene quam emit a Manfredo filio naturale nobilis milites Guecilli de Delesmaninis...Dedicavit enim Henricus se ordini fratrum sancte Marie a Caritate in loco Arene que dicuntur fratres gaudentes, cui circa finem anni renunciavit. Hic factus ypotrica (sic) quoscunque potuit conatus est decipere; voluit enim decipere pontificum Benedictum de Tervixio, qui eidem affirmabat ecclesiam nominatum fecisse de suis bonis.... Biblioteca del Seminario di Padova, ms. n.11, c.43^l, transcribed in I.G. SUPINO, *Giotto*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1920) I, 137 n.1.

⁴⁰³ SUPINO I, 136-137. SIMON, 36, rejecting Scrovegni's association with the *Cavalieri Gaudenti*, suggests the kneeling figure is wearing, not the grey habit of a confraternity member, but rather the black and white one (pigment loss due to application *a secco* has left it grey) associated with either the Augustinian Canons or the Eremitani. Scrovegni had dealings with both groups: in his will Enrico expressed his wish that the clergy at the Arena chapel should live according to the Augustinian rule.

⁴⁰⁴ See SCHLEGEL, 187.

⁴⁰⁵ J. STUBBLEBINE, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton, 1975) 87-88.

penitence for his sins of usury but may also be connected to the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance. Padua was a traditionally Guelf city, one of Florence's allies, and Enrico was a supporter of the Guelf cause. Robert Smith has suggested that Giotto's commission for the Arena Chapel might have been made through Guelf and papal connections.⁴⁰⁶ He claims that the agreement to build the chapel was made through negotiations with Cardinal Niccolò Boccasini who later, as pope Benedict XI (1303-4),⁴⁰⁷ granted indulgences to visitors to the Scrovegni chapel.⁴⁰⁸ Indeed, in a document of 1303, Benedict XI refers to Scrovegni as *familiaris noster*.⁴⁰⁹ Smith also suggests that Giotto may have been sent to Padua by the Florentine commune on a diplomatic mission designed to aid in a conciliation of Padua and Ferrara against Ghibelline Verona. To support his argument he refers to the series of Virtues and Vices

⁴⁰⁶ R. SMITH, "Giotto: Artistic Realism, Political Realism," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978) 267-284, pp.272-274.

⁴⁰⁷ Niccolò Boccasini, or Boccassio, had been a firm supporter of Boniface VIII and a zealous campaigner for the claim of Andrew (first son of the deceased first son of Charles II and Maria of Hungary) to the Hungarian throne. In return, Charles II exercised much influence in Niccolò's election as pope. As pope, Niccolò took the name Benedict in honour of Benedetto Gaetani (Boniface VIII). Charles II of Anjou, who had rushed to Rome to defend Boniface against his French enemies, was present at Benedict XI's coronation in St Peter's in 1303. I. WALTER, "Benedetto XI, Niccolò Boccassio," *DBI* 8 (1966) 370-378, pp.371-372.

⁴⁰⁸ R. SMITH, 272-274, provides few references and no documentation to support his hypothesis. Nevertheless see my Chapter IV, nn.477-481, for suggestions that Giotto operated in Florence under Angevin, Guelf and Franciscan patronage.

⁴⁰⁹ *Les Registres de Benoît XI*, C. GRANDJEAN, ed. (Paris, 1905) 126, n.155, cited in GARDNER 1991, 65, n.8. The pope may have been a friend, or debtor, of Enrico. According to the *Libro della nobiltà di Padova*, Enrico visited him in Rome in 1302. E. BORSOOK, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany from Cimabue to Andrea del Sarto*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1980 [1960]) 7. He may have received absolution from the pope, with the erection of the chapel being one of the conditions. DERBES & SANDONA 277, n.24.

painted in *grisaille* on the dado of the Arena Chapel: the rounded arches of the throne of Injustice are contrasted with the gable and pinnacles of the Gothic throne of Justice, perhaps representing the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.⁴¹⁰ The Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance thus provides a political context for the decoration which also raises the possibility of Benedict XI's involvement in planning the highly sophisticated program of the chapel.

SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE, TUSCANIA

The appearance of a series of votive paintings and a partial narrative cycle adjacent to a Last Judgement scene in the church of S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, all dating to the same few years and all by the same workshop of artists from Arezzo, raises the question of why there was a sudden burst of art patronage in the church after a century without decoration. I would like to propose in this section of the chapter that the delay in decorating the church was due to political turmoil in the region and that the artistic activity in S.Maria Maggiore in the second decade of the Trecento, consisting of frescoes of an Ascension scene in the apse and a Last Judgement scene on the triumphal or apsidal arch, flanked by only three narrative scenes in the nave, and including several votive scenes in the aisles and on the columns of the nave arcade, was the result of lay patronage commemorating those who died in a local war. The Tuscania Last Judgement scene (III.6) was probably produced during a period of Guelf and papal domination of the city in the aftermath of this war, but the

⁴¹⁰ SMITH, 281.

fluctuating political climate in the area does not permit us to establish a secure political connection. Contemporary political events in the region, nevertheless, may be understood to have influenced the function of the Last Judgement and of the other frescoes in the church of S.Maria Maggiore, and the significance of the numerous donor figures represented in the frescoes. These will be discussed below, following a description of the church itself, its environs, and its decoration.

The church of S.Maria Maggiore was built on the ruins of an ancient temple as the first cathedral of Tuscania, a town just west of Viterbo and about 80 kilometres northwest of Rome (Map 1). The episcopal seat moved to S.Pietro in Tuscania in 648 when relics were transferred to the new cathedral.⁴¹¹ Nevertheless, even after the loss of the episcopal seat, the chapter of canons remained at S.Maria, along with a presiding prior.⁴¹² S.Maria Maggiore was allowed to maintain certain privileges out of respect for its former role as cathedral and, more importantly, because of its precious possession of the bodies of twenty-four martyrs, the body of a local saint, Cristina, and of several other relics, including two thorns from the crown of Christ.⁴¹³ In the ninth century a bull of Leo IV (847-855) records the church as a *pieve*,

⁴¹¹ S. CAMPANARI, *Delle antiche chiese di S.Pietro e di S.Maria Maggiore della città di Toscanella* (Montefiascone, c.1853) 80-81, transcribes several inscriptions from S.Pietro relating to the important relics of the 4th-century martyrs Secundiano, Veriano e Marcellino, translated to Tuscania in 648.

⁴¹² A. TURRIOZZI, *Memorie Istoriche della Città Tuscania*, (Rome, 1976), 66.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 67, names the martyrs. An inscription identifies Cristina: *Hic requiescit corpus s.christinae v. et m. filiae urbani de civitate tyri.*

or head parocchial church.⁴¹⁴

The first phase of the present structure was erected at the end of the eleventh century; it was enlarged to a basilica during the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-81). In 1180 the church was placed under the protection of the bishop of Tuscania and the privileges of baptism and burial were reconfirmed.⁴¹⁵ In 1181 or 1182 a major relic was transferred to S.Maria Maggiore, as recorded in an inscription on the altar of the left apse.⁴¹⁶ S.Maria Maggiore was reconsecrated in 1206, marking the completion of the basic structure.⁴¹⁷

The interior of S.Maria Maggiore was not decorated until a century later. The Last Judgement scene, and most of the other remaining frescoes in the church, have been dated, very generally, to

⁴¹⁴ P.F. KEHR, *Italia Pontificia*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1906-1975) II (1961) 198. According to C. WICKHAM, *The Mountains and the City: the Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988) 32, *pievi* were frequently owned by the bishop and often leased out to aristocrats with their tithes. The guardian was responsible for the judicial administration of the *pieve's* subsidiary parishes.

⁴¹⁵ TURRIOZZI, 113, Appendix n.3; KEHR, II, 198: Alexander III Mardocheo priori etc.: Ecclesiam s.Mariae Tuscanen. sub apost. protectione suscipit, confirmat possessiones propriis expressas vocabulis, prohibet, ut infra parochiam nullus ecclesiam vel oratorium aedificare praesumat et in civitate baptismum nisi in eadem ecclesia celebrare audeat, concedit sepulturam....

⁴¹⁶ ...anno i lucii iii papae mense martii die iiii...., in E. PARLATO & S. ROMANO, *Roma e il Lazio* (Rome, 1992) 233. Lucius III was elected September 1181. The relic has not been identified.

⁴¹⁷ The expansion of the church in the mid-12th century probably included the lengthening of the nave and the raising of the roof. The lower part of the façade was constructed in various phases, nearing completion at the end of the 12th century. PARLATO & ROMANO, 233-237. The rose window and upper part of the façade, however, were not completed until the middle of the 13th century. J. RASPI SERRA, *Tuscania. Cultura ed espressione artistica di un centro medioevale* (Milan, 1971) 92.

the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.⁴¹⁸ In spite of extensive overpainting,⁴¹⁹ which undermines any attribution based on style and colour, Donati, Raspi Serra and Romano all agree that elements of composition and colour, and details of costume and physiognomy connect the paintings of S.Maria Maggiore with works executed by a pair of Aretine masters, Gregorio and Donato, who were active in the area between approximately 1315 and 1320.⁴²⁰ Since there is no secure chronology for the Aretine masters, Romano tentatively dates the Last Judgement in S.Maria Maggiore to the end of the second decade of the fourteenth century, and the other paintings in the church to the beginning of the 1320s, noting in the style of the Tuscania frescoes an

⁴¹⁸ R. VAN MARLE, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, 19 vols. (The Hague, 1923-1938), V (1925) 349-350, Fig.213. Gandolfo attributes the frescoes to an "exaggerated paleologue byzantinism" in late 13th-century Lazio "with Umbrian and Sienese overtones". MATTHIAE-GANDOLFO, 322-324.

⁴¹⁹ The Last Judgment underwent restoration around 1850 by Minardi and Tenerani under the auspices of Pope Pius IX. A. AURELI, *Toscanella ed i suoi monumenti. Guida storico-artistica del visitatore* (Viterbo, 1910) 22; S. ROMANO, *Eclissi di Roma. Pittura murale a Roma e nel Lazio da Bonifacio VIII a Martino V (1295-1431)* (Rome, 1992) 238.

⁴²⁰ P.P. DONATI, "Per la pittura aretina del Trecento," *Paragone Arte* 19, 1 (1968) 22-39; 19, 2 (1968) 10-21, pp.30-31; RASPI SERRA 169; ROMANO 1992, 238-244. For example, stylistic similarities and identical costume details are found in the votive paintings of the Virgin of the Misericordia in the left aisle (III.18) and of the enthroned Madonna in the fourth bay of the right aisle of S.Maria Maggiore; in the depiction of the patron saints in the crypt of S.Pietro in Tuscania (III.17), in that of the titular saint in S.Flaviano at Montefiascone; and in the image of the standing Virgin with child in the fresco of the Tree of Life on the reverse façade of S.Silvestro in Tuscania. The scene of the Assumption of the Virgin adjoining the Last Judgement on the left nave wall of S.Maria Maggiore (III.19) is very similar to the central panel of the Bracciano triptych. All of these works are believed to have been painted by Gregorio and Donato between 1315 and 1320. For illustrations see ROMANO 1992, Chapter III.

affinity with Roman painting.⁴²¹

The traditional placement of the Last Judgement scene on the west wall is abandoned here in favour of a location above the main altar of the church. This is unusual but not unique. Last Judgement scenes appear in the apses of three churches in Abruzzo in the thirteenth century, two of which are cemetery churches.⁴²² Another, now in the Museo Civico in Rimini, originally appeared on the triumphal arch of S.Agostino in Rimini, c.1315.⁴²³ Yet another appears on the three eastern segments of the cupola of the Florence Baptistery, directly above the altar, c.1271-1330. Like the two cemetery churches in Abruzzo, the Florence Baptistery also has a funerary context, in that it was built over an earlier medieval necropolis and was the burial place of at least three eminent persons.⁴²⁴ S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, with its baptism and burial functions, can be associated with this group of churches (including the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem⁴²⁵) in which Last Judgement scenes were placed at the east end, over or behind the high altar.

⁴²¹ Romano cautions that the works attributed to Gregorio and Donato may have involved a workshop larger than two painters. She states, moreover, that the resemblance to Roman painting was intentional in order to accommodate the taste of an area located close to Rome. *Ibid.*, 238, 244.

⁴²² S.Maria Maggiore in Pianella near Chieti (early 13th century). S.Maria in Lago in Moscufo (1280s) and S.Maria di Ronzano near Teramo (1281) are cemetery churches. See R. FELDHUSEN, *Ikologische Studien zu Michelangelos Jüngstem Gericht* (Bad Liebenzell, 1978) 13-17.

⁴²³ Rimini lies within the Papal State (Map 1). The three Abruzzese churches are all located near Chieti, within the *Regno*, not far south of Ascoli Picena.

⁴²⁴ For the Florence Baptistery see Chapter IV, nn.489-490.

⁴²⁵ See below n.499.

At Tuscania, large and prominent in the centre of the upper register of the Last Judgement is Christ, displaying his wounds in a mandorla supported by half-figures of angels. On either side of Christ, on a smaller scale, are the seated apostles, each holding a book. Above the apostles flutter angels similar to those in S.Cecilia.⁴²⁶ The immediate resemblance to Cavallini's fresco at S.Cecilia in Trastevere (I.6, I.7) is striking. Superficially, at least, it is tempting to see Cavallini's Last Judgement, dated 1293, as the likely inspiration for the Tuscania fresco. A closer examination, however, indicates a different source; in fact, only Offner and Shorr have considered the Tuscania Last Judgement in terms of its iconography, and in so doing have linked it with Giotto's Last Judgement in the Arena Chapel, Padua (III.2). Shorr compares the role of the Virgin in the Last Judgement scenes at Padua and Tuscania, and her arguments will be discussed further below.⁴²⁷ Offner includes the figure of Christ in the Tuscania fresco in his category of Judge-Redeemer figures most common in Tuscan panel painting and notes the similar elimination of horizontal bands in the Last Judgement compositions at Tuscania and in the Arena Chapel.⁴²⁸ There are other details, overlooked by these authors, to connect the Tuscania painting with Giotto's Last Judgement at Padua. For example, instead of the standing or striding figures of trumpeting angels seen in earlier Italian Last Judgement scenes, including S.Cecilia, we find in the Scrovegni Chapel and S.Maria Maggiore that the Resurrection is announced by the lower two angels supporting the

⁴²⁶ See above, Chapter I, n.134.

⁴²⁷ SHORR, 178.

⁴²⁸ See above n.397.

mandorla of Christ. Also, omitted at both Padua and Tuscania are the figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist flanking Christ to form the *deesis*, another typically Byzantine feature adopted in Rome in the S.Silvestro Chapel, S.Cecilia in Trastevere and S.Maria in Vescovio. The river of fire flowing from beneath the throne of Christ appears both in Tuscania and Padua and not in the frescoes of the Roman tradition. Except for the river of fire, these apparently Tuscan iconographical features are consistent also in the Last Judgement fresco in the lunette of the east wall of the south transept of S.Chiera in Assisi (Map 1, III.7).⁴²⁹

Moreover, three very unusual iconographical features unmistakably link Tuscania and Padua: the appearance of a very large isolated cross beneath the mandorla of Christ; the active participation of the intercessors; and the presence of a figure kneeling in veneration at the foot of the cross who may be the donor of the work. The loss of large areas of pigment unfortunately prevents comparisons of the two latter features in the paintings in S.Cecilia in Trastevere and in

⁴²⁹ S.Chiera's decoration is attributed to the Maestro Impressionista di S.Chiera and dated to the early 14th century (the right transept frescoes to c.1320). Although many scenes in the transepts of S.Chiera were inspired by the frescoes in S.Francesco, Lunghi notes that the Last Judgement scene in S.Chiera was derived from Giotto's Paduan fresco, suggesting that the patron sought a different source outside Assisi. This is perhaps because Cimabue's transept program for S.Francesco, where scenes of the Vision of the Throne or the Apocalyptic Christ might have provided the model, depends on texts for the feasts of saints to whom are dedicated the altars of the upper church. E. LUNGI, "La decorazione pittorica della chiesa," in M. BIGARONI et al., *La basilica di S.Chiera in Assisi* (Perugia, 1994) 137-282, pp.203-204; F. TODINI, *La Pittura Umbra dal Duecento al Primo Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1989) I, 138. In spite of other differences, two of the angels supporting Christ's mandorla in Cimabue's scene of the Apocalyptic Christ-Judge announce his arrival with trumpets, just as in S.Chiera and the other early Tuscan Last Judgement scenes.

S.Chiara in Assisi.

The first of these iconographic elements is the very prominent cross, isolated on a plain background beneath Christ's mandorla. A particularly large isolated cross is an unusual feature seen, in monumental Last Judgement scenes, only in the Arena Chapel in Padua, S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, and S.Chiara in Assisi.⁴³⁰ In other media, a large, prominent cross appears below Christ in Last Judgement scenes on the Siena pulpit by Nicola Pisano (c.1265-1268) (III.8), on the Pistoia pulpit by Giovanni Pisano (c.1298-1301) (III.9), on the terminal of the upper arm of Bernardo Daddi's Crucifix of the first half of the fourteenth century,⁴³¹ and in two panel paintings: one in Grosseto attributed to the workshop of Guido da Siena, dated c.1280 (III.5), and the other attributed to a Lucchese artist, Deodato di Orlando (III.10), dated c.1290-1300.⁴³² The smaller cross beneath Christ's mandorla at S.Cecilia in Rome, resting on the altar under which await the Innocents, reflects increasing Eucharistic devotion in the thirteenth century.⁴³³ The iconography of the early Tuscan Last Judgement with the large isolated cross represents another shift, in the early fourteenth century,

⁴³⁰ In S.Chiara, due to paint loss, we cannot be sure that the cross was isolated but the remaining fragment suggests it was. There seems to have been such a cross in S.Maria in Vescovio (Lazio) but not enough remains to be certain (I.27).

⁴³¹ Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, Inv. n.442, from the church of San Donato in Polverosa near Florence.

⁴³² Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. n.1041, panel with 5 scenes from the life of John the Baptist and a Last Judgement. M. BOSKOVITS, *Frühe italienische Malerei. Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Katalog der Gemälde* (Berlin, 1988) n.14, 29-31, Figs. 36-39; J.T. WOLLESEN, *Die Fresken von San Piero a Grado bei Pisa* (Bad Oeynhausen, 1977) 132-133.

⁴³³ See above, Chapter I, pp.50-52.

towards redemption through Christ's suffering. Instead of Christ as *sacerdos et sacrificium*, we find Christ as Judge-Redeemer (to use Offner's term), reflecting the hopes of sinners for salvation through intercessory saints and Christ's mercy. The surviving evidence clearly suggests that a prominent large cross beneath the mandorla of Christ is characteristic of this group of early Tuscan Last Judgement scenes.⁴³⁴ A cross has always been a feature, along with other instruments of Christ's Passion, in most Last Judgement scenes.⁴³⁵ While special attention to the cross adds a new emphasis to the Last Judgement scene, the other instruments of Christ's Passion do not disappear. They are held by the angels flanking the cross on the Siena pulpit and surround the cross in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania.⁴³⁶ Later, at Orvieto, where the cross is replaced by a vine, the other instruments of Christ's Passion appear in the upper register flanking the mandorla; in the Campo Santo in Pisa, where there is no special

⁴³⁴ Its antecedents lie firmly in the Western tradition of Last Judgement iconography. Large crosses appear, not below Christ but to his right, in the chapel of St Michael in the church of St George at Oberzell auf der Reichenau, c.1100, and in two Ottonian manuscripts dated c.1000: the Pericope Book of Henry II (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod.lat. 4452, f.202r) and the Bamberger Apocalypse (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, ms.bibl.140, f.53r). An Italian example of this configuration, with the cross on Christ's left, is found in the lunette of the west portal of the Parma Baptistery, c.1200. A large cross set within an aureole is supported by angels *above* the mandorla of Christ in the Last Judgement scene in the Farfa Bible (Vatican City, BAV, Vat.Lat.5729, f.368v), of the late 11th century.

⁴³⁵ See above for example, the Vatican panel n.526, the S.Silvestro Chapel, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, etc. See also the previous note.

⁴³⁶ Likewise the instruments surround Christ on the Grosseto panel and decorate the large cross on the Berlin panel. Their omission on Giovanni Pisano's Pistoia pulpit would seem to be for reasons of limited space and the priority given to the expression of the figures. In the Arena Chapel a whip and a sword are carried by the angels above Christ's mandorla.

emphasis on the cross, the instruments are carried by the angels in the upper register of the Last Judgement.⁴³⁷ While the *arma Christi* become increasingly important as a subject of paintings beginning in the fourteenth century, this development does not seem to be related to Last Judgement scenes.⁴³⁸

The second feature of this group focuses on the role of the intercessors. At S.Cecilia in Trastevere, the presence of St Stephen leading the elect and of the Virgin and John the Baptist flanking Christ and forming the *deesis*, suggests that the Virgin and John may not have appeared among the blessed in the missing registers below.⁴³⁹ At Tuscania and Padua, on the other hand, the Baptist and the Virgin play active roles as intercessors, directly among the saints.⁴⁴⁰ Larger in scale than the apostles and placed at the head of the rows of the just

⁴³⁷ Later still, c.1410, in the Bolognini Chapel in S.Petronio in Bologna, the instruments of Christ's Passion do not appear in the Last Judgement scene, while c.1530, in Michelangelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, the instruments reappear, borne by angels in the lunettes at the top of the painting.

⁴³⁸ The *arma Christi* first appear as a subject of paintings in Northern Europe in the early 14th century and become increasingly common in the 15th and 16th centuries. Roberto Oderisi's Man of Sorrows (Cambridge MA, Fogg Art Museum) surrounded by the disembodied instruments and attributes of Christ's Passion, dated to the 2nd half of the 14th century, is the earliest Italian example. See R. BERLINER, "*Arma Christi*," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, 6 (1955) 35-152.

⁴³⁹ On the other hand, the Virgin appears three times in the Last Judgement scene at Torcello and at least three times on the Pisa Cathedral pulpit, including one appearance in the *deesis* role, suggesting that she may have appeared a second time in the lower registers of S.Cecilia. St Stephen appears with the Innocents on the Vatican panel and leads the second rank of the blessed in the Padua and Tuscania frescoes.

⁴⁴⁰ OFFNER III, V, 257 n.15, cites Tuscania, Padua and a later Tuscan illuminated manuscript as the only examples known to him of the Virgin standing among the blessed as their advocate.

in the fresco at S.Maria Maggiore (III.11), is a group of four figures. Closest to Christ, the Virgin is seen interceding on behalf of an old woman dressed in a long pink tunic. The Virgin's arm is around the woman and they look up towards Christ. To the left, behind the Virgin, John the Baptist similarly intercedes for a white-bearded old man in a nearly identical tunic at the head of the uppermost row.⁴⁴¹ These two elderly personages probably represent Adam and Eve who often appear in Byzantine Last Judgement scenes, such as the Sinai Icon n.2, dated c.1150;⁴⁴² they also appear in the Padua fresco, in S.Maria Donnaregina, and in the Last Judgement scene in the Campo Santo in Pisa, c.1330 (V.7).

The figure of the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgement is even more prominent than that at Tuscania, and occupies the same position between heaven and earth, at the head of the group of elect (III.12). In the Arena Chapel she reaches behind her to draw an old woman up by the wrist. Shorr has identified the figure of the old woman as Eve on the basis of the writings of Church fathers regarding Mary as the antithesis of Eve, and on the similarity of the Virgin's posture at Padua to that of Christ when he draws Adam from Limbo in Anastasis scenes.⁴⁴³ The author supports her argument with Greek texts in the

⁴⁴¹ This male figure is clearly separated from the other haloed figures behind him by the slightly lower level of his halo and by the hand of John the Baptist which rests on his right shoulder.

⁴⁴² On the Sinai Icon n.2 Adam and Eve kneel in veneration at the foot of the *etimasia*. See K. WEITZMANN, *The Icon. Holy Images--Sixth to Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978) Pl.23. The entire Anastasis section of the mosaic at Torcello is a 19th-century reconstruction. Its appearance and iconography in the early fourteenth century remains uncertain and so has not been discussed.

⁴⁴³ For the Anastasis see A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis: the Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986).

Bibliothèque Nationale dating between the eighth and sixteenth centuries which describe the legend of the Virgin's descent to Inferno, guided by the archangel Michael.⁴⁴⁴ The Virgin's sojourn in the underworld may be, as Shorr has proposed, the source of the multiple representations of Mary accompanied by Michael in the Last Judgement on Giovanni Pisano's pulpit in Pisa Cathedral which is contemporary with Giotto's fresco.⁴⁴⁵ On the pulpit the Virgin grasps the wrists of several figures among the damned as well as the elect (III.13). On Giovanni's earlier Pistoia pulpit, dated c.1298-1301, the Virgin appears only once in the Last Judgement, on the side of the blessed with her right arm around the shoulder of a kneeling bishop and her left one raised in supplication towards Christ (III.9). According to the legend of the Virgin's descent, in her attempt to obtain Christ's mercy for those suffering in Hell, the Virgin turned for advice to Moses and other prophets and apostles.⁴⁴⁶ Beyond the grasping of the wrist, further evidence of the connection between this legend and Giotto's Last Judgement scene is found in the group of figures slightly below and to the left of the Virgin's group (III.12). A male figure, probably representing Adam, is pushed forward by a prominent figure in a yellow mantle with a grey beard and horns, now barely visible, but undoubtedly representing Moses.

⁴⁴⁴ Paris, BN, ms.gr.390 (8th? century), ms.gr.1631 (10th century), suppl.gr.136 (16th century). *Ibid.*, 177 fn.32, citing C.A. GIDEL, "Etude sur un apocalypse de la Vierge Marie," *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (Paris, 1871) 92-108; E. PERNOT, "Descente de la Vierge aux enfers d'après les mss. grecs de Paris," *Revue des études grecques* 13 (1900) 233-257.

⁴⁴⁵ SHORR, 177. The pulpit bears an inscription which provides the date 1302-1310.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 178.

Clearly, the appearance of the intercessory Virgin directly among the blessed is characteristic of this group of early fourteenth-century Tuscan Last Judgement scenes. The motif, however, had appeared much earlier in Rome, in the third register of the late eleventh-century Vatican panel n.526 (I.10). Yet this particular gesture of the Virgin grasping the faithful by their wrists on the Pisa Cathedral pulpit and in the Arena Chapel fresco, is almost certainly a result of the influence of the Byzantine legend of her descent to Inferno. The legend of the Virgin's descent, moreover, may have entered Italy with cardinals and friars travelling from France where manuscripts containing that legend are preserved, or directly from Byzantium with Franciscan missionaries returning from the Orient.⁴⁴⁷ In the matter of gestures of intercession, therefore, those of the Virgin and John the Baptist in the fresco in S.Maria Maggiore at Tuscania do not follow Giotto's Paduan model. Nevertheless, the frescoes at Tuscania and Padua are closely related as the only two surviving examples of monumental painting from this period depicting Last Judgement scenes in which the intercessors do not flank Christ but appear directly among the blessed.⁴⁴⁸

Here I shall digress briefly to discuss the history of intercessory gestures in order to emphasize the unique nature of the iconographical

⁴⁴⁷ The Franciscans, who have a special devotion to the Virgin and a particular fascination with the details of the saints' lives, would have taken a keen interest in a tale that parallels the Virgin's experience with that of Christ.

⁴⁴⁸ While the correspondance of several distinctive iconographic features links the Last Judgement in S.Chiara in Assisi with those at Padua and Tuscania, the loss of the left side and the lower edge prevents further comparison. That the Virgin does not appear in the *deesis* role in the Assisi fresco, and that the fresco is located in the main Clarissan basilica, strongly suggest that the Virgin did appear among the blessed in the lost left section.

innovations of the early Tuscan Last Judgement scene. In a recent article it was demonstrated that the gesture of grasping by the wrist was prevalent in both secular and sacred pictorial contexts, often implying possession, protection, or control (both spiritual and physical). From the fourth century the gesture was used in Christian iconography to represent resurrection, and the iconography of the Anastasis scene has for centuries focused on this gesture, for example in the lower church of S.Clemente, Rome, dated to the ninth century.⁴⁴⁹ This gesture seldom appears in the context of intercessors and venerators.⁴⁵⁰ Placing a hand on the shoulder to indicate recommendation is more common and has a long tradition in Christian art. Figures of donors or the deceased have been presented in this way to Christ or the Virgin by titular saints since at least the ninth century. In a funerary context the saint's role becomes that of intercessor on behalf of the deceased for the salvation of his soul.⁴⁵¹ In the case of the Last Judgement, even when the scene has a narrative function as the culmination of a New Testament cycle, the context is invariably funerary since the Last Judgement is inextricably related to

⁴⁴⁹ C. SCHLEIF, "Hands that Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting," *Art History* 16, 1 (1993) 1-32, pp.18-21. There is a 4th-century example in the context of Resurrection in the scene of the Raising of the Daughter of Jairus on an ivory casket now in the Museo Cristiano, Brescia. For the Anastasis in S.Clemente see J. OSBORNE, *Early Medieval Wall-Paintings in the Lower Church of S.Clemente, Rome* (New York, 1984). In the Anastasis scene on the Klosterneuberg altarpiece, dated 1181, Christ draws Eve by the wrist. See KARTSONIS.

⁴⁵⁰ SCHLEIF, 18 n.61, cites a rare example in an Ottonian manuscript in which a bishop grasps the wrist of a monk in order to draw him to Christ (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, ms.Theol.Lat.268, f.234v).

⁴⁵¹ See J. OSBORNE, "The 'Particular Judgement': an Early Medieval Wall-Painting in the Lower Church of San Clemente, Rome," *BM* 123 (1981) 334-341, p.339.

death and resurrection.

The third characteristic feature of the early Tuscan group of Last Judgement scenes is the presence of the kneeling venerator or donor. Enrico Scrovegni kneels before the Virgin in Giotto's Last Judgement scene in the act of presenting to her the model of the chapel (III.4). In the Last Judgement scene in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, a kneeling figure once appeared at the foot of the cross, as seen in a pre-1971 photograph (III.14).⁴⁵² An inscription below him, which read SECUNDIANUS, associates him with one of three early Christian martyrs venerated in Tuscania (Secundiano, Marcellino and Veriano). The trio is depicted by the same artists, Gregorio and Donato, in a contemporary fresco in the crypt of the Cathedral of S.Pietro in Tuscania (III.15). Here all three saints wear costumes resembling those of the antique priors of Tuscany.⁴⁵³ We shall return to the kneeling figure in the Last Judgement scene after a discussion of the significance of donor figures in the votive frescoes of S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania which will establish the context of the decorative program.

It is worthwhile to recall here that the church of S.Maria Maggiore was a *pieve* in the fourteenth century with the privilege of *ius fontis*, that is, a public parish church with burial and baptismal privileges.⁴⁵⁴ The Arena Chapel was a private palatine chapel and the burial place of its patron. Thus both churches shared a funerary

⁴⁵² An earthquake in Tuscania in 1971 caused the loss of many frescoes, including the apse frescoes in both S.Maria Maggiore and S.Pietro, and the figure of Secundianus. See G. MATTHIAE ET AL., *Sabato 6 Febbraio, 1971, Tuscania, ore 19,09* (Rome, 1971).

⁴⁵³ ROMANO 1992, 242.

⁴⁵⁴ See above nn.414-415.

function, and certainly both still reveal in their decoration, an emphasis on the personal salvation of prominent local citizens who commissioned the paintings. Unlike the Arena Chapel, in S.Maria Maggiore there is no integrated decorative program. Here the Last Judgement and its flanking scenes may have initiated a decorative campaign which was interrupted, but the series of votive paintings in the church suggests otherwise. The image of the Madonna Orans on the left wall of the presbytery of S.Maria Maggiore is flanked by angels and two diminutive venerating figures (III.16).⁴⁵⁵ The kneeling figure on the right is female; the smaller one on the left, male, is dressed in a white habit.⁴⁵⁶ Both kneel upright with their hands held together in front of them. These supplicants may be the co-donors of the painting, or, as burial was allowed in the church, they may represent the deceased buried below or nearby. A fresco of the Madonna and Child Enthroned appears on the wall of the fourth bay of the right aisle, adjacent to the baptismal font. The kneeling figure on the right of the throne is dressed in the costume of the local magistrates, similar the costumes of Secundianus and the saints depicted in the crypt of S.Pietro in Tuscania. Located beside the baptismal font, the painting's original context may have been one of death and Resurrection through Baptism.

⁴⁵⁵ The Madonna forms the central section of a triptych. The right section, the upper half of which is lost, depicts St Bartholomew, identifiable by the skin which he carries, who was flayed alive in Armenia. Not enough remains of the left section to permit an identification.

⁴⁵⁶ According to G. KAFTAL, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan painting* (Florence, 1952) xxv, the white habit could indicate the Cistercian Order. On the other hand, the white habit might belong to a canon of the church. The female figure may be a lay devotee or a Tertiary. I am grateful to Cordelia Warr for sharing with me her expertise on religious dress.

Immediately adjacent to the Last Judgment scene on the nave walls of the presbytery which adjoin the chancel arch are scenes which normally belong to narrative cycles. On the right an Annunciation scene is depicted above a scene which combines the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The figures of Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate are both kneeling in the manner of the venerators which appear in the other paintings. On the left of the Last Judgement scene is an image of the Assumption of the Virgin (III.17). The Virgin's mandorla is carried heavenward by twelve angels and the only witness to the event is a solitary figure, kneeling with his hands together in prayer. He gazes upward from the lower part of the picture, within the frame, left of centre, facing the Last Judgement.

The Annunciation scene usually marks the beginning of a Christological cycle while the Assumption is often the ultimate scene in a Marian cycle. Such cycles might have unfolded along the nave walls of S.Maria Maggiore but no fragments of paint now remain to indicate that there ever were other scenes. It would, moreover, be unusual for a narrative cycle to begin with the second scene *below* the first, as is the case with the Annunciation and the Nativity here, if the cycle were meant to continue along the nave wall. Furthermore, the presence of a suppliant in the Assumption scene and the kneeling posture of the Virgin and Gabriel in the Annunciation suggest a reading as votive paintings, and, at least in the case of the Assumption scene, the praying figure heightens the emphasis on personal salvation.

To explain this phenomenon I propose that the series of votive frescoes and the lack of an integrated pictorial program at S.Maria Maggiore may be explained by the political turmoil which plagued the

area in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Tuscania was within the Patrimony of St Peter.⁴⁵⁷ In 1209 the Church had exercised its patrimonial right over Tuscania, imposing on the city all the attending financial obligations.⁴⁵⁸ It is probably for this reason, unwillingly subjected to papal domination, that the citizens of Tuscania held a Ghibelline bias which flared up regularly throughout the years of Papal-Guelf domination. Finally, in 1300 Tuscania rebelled against a request made by senators Gentile Orsini and Riccardo Annibaldi on behalf of pope Boniface VIII for grain to feed the pilgrims who had come to Rome for the Jubilee. For having resisted the hegemony of the Campidoglio, Tuscania was seized by the senators who declared its submission to Rome.⁴⁵⁹ It should be made clear that the Campidoglio, the Lateran and the Guelf party were not coterminous and often fought against each other. So the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century

⁴⁵⁷ Papal power had been traditionally weak, however, and since 1080 Tuscania and most of the Maremma had been dominated by the Aldobrandeschi of Orvieto. Tuscania had operated as a republic, with a strong economy based on grain export and a leather goods industry. Its commune was in an advanced state of development by the mid-Duecento with guilds of merchants, notaries, and artisans participating fully in the government of the city. R.D. PRINGLE, *Medieval Towers and Urban Development in Central Italy: the Case of Tuscania*, BA dissertation, Southampton University, 1973, 1-2; D. WALEY, *Medieval Orvieto: the Political History of an Italian City-State 1157-1334* (Cambridge, 1952), 18-20, 44-47, 97-98, 124-125.

⁴⁵⁸ PRINGLE, 3.

⁴⁵⁹ In 1297, Boniface had himself elected *podestà* of Tuscania for life. Thereafter the *podestà* was a puppet of the Roman *signoria*. G. GIONTELLA, *Tuscania attraverso i secoli* (Tuscania, 1980) 79-83; F. GREGOROVIVUS, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (London, 1897-1909) V (1897) 640. For the details of the submission see E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, *Roma dal Comune di Popolo alla Signoria Pontificia (1252-1377)* (Bologna, 1952) 357-360; C. LEANDRI & P. TOMASSI, *Tuscania: breve guida storico-turistica della città* (Viterbo, 1964) 11 and Fig.1; A. AURELI, *Toscanella ed i suoi monumenti: guida storico-artistica del visitatore* (Viterbo, 1910) 41.

was a turbulent time in Tuscania, a time of continuous struggles between Ghibellines and Guelfs and between independent factions each pursuing their own interests. After the move of the papacy to France in 1309, there followed a particularly chaotic period in which papal rectors and vicars, sent to the Patrimony from France, vied with local barons and Roman senators representing the Campidoglio, for territory and power in the Maremma.⁴⁶⁰ The partisan lines are never clear. With the arrival in Pisa of Henry VII in March 1312 there was a revival of Ghibelline fervour. In an attempt to recover Tuscania from Roman domination, the papal vicar from 1312 to 1317, Bernard de Coucy, allied with the Ghibellines and dragged Tuscania into a bloody war against its long-time Guelf ally, Orvieto.⁴⁶¹ The result was the bitter defeat of Tuscania: the loss of about a quarter of the total population and the destruction of two-thirds of the town, including the area around S.Maria Maggiore and the entire *quartiere* surrounding the cathedral of S.Pietro (III.18). Signs of recovery appear only at the end of 1318 when the city sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace treaty with Orvieto.⁴⁶²

It is to the aftermath of this war that the decoration of S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania has been dated.⁴⁶³ Political upheaval probably accounts for the long time between the completion of the structure and

⁴⁶⁰ G. SILVESTRELLI, *Città, Castelli e Terre della Regione Romana*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1940), II, 844; GIONTELLA, 89. Also A. CORTONESI, *Terre e signori del Lazio medioevale* (Naples, 1988).

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 95-101.

⁴⁶² The loss of two-thirds of the *Quartiere della Valle* and the entire *Quartiere della Cività* resulted in the reorganization of the administration of Tuscania from fourths to thirds. The treaty was signed in 1319. See *Ibid.*, 101-102.

⁴⁶³ See above n.420.

the initiation of the decoration. The sudden burst of patronage by individual citizens at the end of the second decade of the fourteenth century was surely inspired by the loss of a quarter of the population of the city. Perhaps the kneeling venerators in the votive images in S.Maria Maggiore are to be seen not necessarily as the donors of the paintings but rather the victims of war, buried below or near the images. In the paintings on the aisle walls, the supplicants kneel at the feet of the Virgin imploring her to intercede for their salvation in the afterlife.

Indeed, the choice of the Ascension and Last Judgement in a funerary context is appropriate. But could such large, expensive frescoes be votive offerings? Let us return now to Secundianus, the kneeling donor figure in the Last Judgement scene. As he wears a lay costume, similar to that of the magistrates, and as there was no bishop named Secundianus in this period, we can conclude that the Last Judgement was not an episcopal commission.⁴⁶⁴ Perhaps Secundianus was a local aristocrat, responsible for judicial administration of the parish, who chose to portray himself at the feet of the ultimate judge. Or, named for a local saint, Secundianus may represent a communal or corporate commission of the fresco to commemorate collectively the loss of more than one hundred citizens. I am aware of no other examples of wars resulting in a burst of tomb patronage or votive paintings. Nevertheless, the loss of more than a quarter of a town's population represents a catastrophe akin to the devastation of the Black Death of 1348, when, according to Samuel Cohn's study of six Central Italian

⁴⁶⁴ Angelus (Angelo Tignosi), a canon of the Lateran, was bishop from 1318 until 1343. C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, 2nd ed., 8 vols. (Padua, 1960-1978), I, 532.

towns, testamentary commissions for paintings more than doubled what they had been in the previous quarter century.⁴⁶⁵ Cohn's study reveals that in 1348 commissions for paintings became more specific as to the number and identities of saints depicted, and usually included images of the kneeling testator, often in the company of a deceased relative. Moreover, testamentary commissions for paintings were more numerous in Arezzo, Florence and Perugia than in Siena, Pisa or Assisi.⁴⁶⁶ Further research on S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania will involve the examination of testamentary and burial records in search of a similar pattern of pious donations or testamentary commissions. It may be that citizens of Tuscania, already borrowing the Florentine iconography of the Last Judgement and commissioning paintings from an Aretine workshop, reacted to the devastation of the war in the same way that Florence and Arezzo were to later react to the plague, by commissioning votive paintings to commemorate the deceased, and by portraying the deceased and themselves in the manner of penitents to insure their salvation according to contemporary teachings of the Church.

Without knowing the identity of Secundianus nor his political allegiance, there is no secure link between the Last Judgement scene in Tuscania and the iconography of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance as discussed in previous chapters. However, it is worth noting that from 1319 until 1323 the papal rector in the Patrimony, Guitto Farnese, also

⁴⁶⁵ S.K. COHN, *Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore-London, 1992) 248-254.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

bishop of Orvieto (1302-1328) and a strong Guelf supporter,⁴⁶⁷ aided by the local bishop Angelo Tignosi,⁴⁶⁸ was involved in negotiations to restore Tuscania to the Church. The citizens of Tuscania would have preferred Church domination to that of the Campidoglio and encouraged the negotiations.⁴⁶⁹ This would suggest a strong Papal-Guelf presence in Tuscania in those years. However, internal evidence alone is not sufficient to connect the Papal-Angevin-Guelf cause to the patronage of the paintings and the choice of a Last Judgement scene. Evidence which demonstrates this fresco's dependence on the Last Judgement by Giotto at Padua, on the other hand, can be used to support that very notion.

THE PENITENT PATRON AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS

The portrait of Enrico Scrovegni in the Last Judgement in the Arena Chapel is unusually large and prominent (III.2, III.4). The donor is portrayed kneeling at the left of the base of the large cross, presenting a model of the chapel to three celestial personages. No intercessory saints place hands on his shoulder or take him by the wrist. He makes his presentation to the Virgin and her companions accompanied only by his kneeling co-donor who supports the model on his shoulder. Almost identically, in the Last Judgement in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, Secundianus, the presumed patron of the fresco, kneels, without any sponsor, at the foot of the cross (III.11, III.14). As

⁴⁶⁷ A. LANCONELLI, "Farnese, Guido (Guitto, Guittone)," *DBI* 45 (1995) 102-106, p.102.

⁴⁶⁸ See above n.464.

⁴⁶⁹ GIONTELLA, 104-106; LANCONELLI, 104.

donors without intercessory saints, Scrovegni and Secundianus follow a long tradition.⁴⁷⁰ But the appearance of a donor or supplicant in a Last Judgement scene is remarkable; these two scenes at Padua and Tuscania are the earliest surviving appearances in monumental painting of a kneeling supplicant at the Last Judgement. In the eschatological context of the Last Judgement the donor projects himself into the future beyond time, and beyond place into the sacred realm of the blessed in Paradise.

There may have been, nevertheless, some precedents. It is impossible to know if a donor was represented in Cavallini's Last Judgement in S.Cecilia in Trastevere (I.25) or in the similar fresco in S.Maria in Vescovio (I.27, I.28).⁴⁷¹ To my knowledge, the only extant Central Italian precedent for a donor figure in a Last Judgement scene occurs on the Vatican panel n.526 (I.10), of the eleventh century,⁴⁷²

⁴⁷⁰ In the Theodotus Chapel in S.Maria Antiqua (741-752) the donor kneels beside St Quiricus and St Julitta. In the mosaic on the triumphal arch of the now destroyed Lateran triclinium built by Leo III (795-816), the Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester once kneeled at Christ's feet, while opposite, Leo III and Charlemagne kneeled at the feet of St Peter. OSBORNE, 339. Another example occurs in the mosaic in S.Maria in Domnica commissioned by Paschal I (817-824). C. BERTELLI, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere. Storia, iconografia, stile di un dipinto romano dell'ottavo secolo* (Rome, 1961) 61. In Molise, in the crypt of Abbot Epifanio at S.Vincenzo al Volturno (824-842), the abbot kneels at the foot of the Crucifix. *San Vincenzo al Volturno 1: The 1980-86 Excavations Part I*, R. HODGES, ed. (Rome, 1993) Figs. 7:21, 7:22.

⁴⁷¹ At Vescovio the blessed appear to kneel and are presented to Christ by St Peter and an angel who place their hands on the shoulders of the supplicants. This, combined with the fragment of a possibly large isolated cross beneath Christ's mandorla, suggests the further possibility of a kneeling donor at the foot of it. See Chapter I, p.65, n.165.

⁴⁷² Also 11th century are the figures presented to Christ by Sts Clement, Andrew and two angels in the "Particular" Judgement scene in the narthex of the lower church of S.Clemente, Rome, which has a funerary connection. While the idea of salvation in the afterlife

though here the diminutive religious figures who stand outside the gates of Celestial Jerusalem bear little resemblance to the prominent kneeling venerators represented within the Last Judgement scenes at Padua and Tuscania. Nevertheless, the Vatican panel is evidence that the concept of depicting a donor in a Last Judgement scene, and of placing the Virgin among the blessed, was not new in the late thirteenth century when a new type of devotional image was developing.

The humble gesture of kneeling in veneration was adopted by the Franciscans, perhaps from the Byzantine gesture of *proskynesis*, or from early medieval Italian paintings,⁴⁷³ and was used to portray Francis in his devotion to the Holy Cross and the crucified Christ.⁴⁷⁴ The kneeling suppliant on a series of large Franciscan wooden crucifixes combined the donor function with the devotional. The earliest of these, no longer extant, was painted by Giunta Pisano in 1236. It depicted the donor, Brother Elias,⁴⁷⁵ in Franciscan habit at the foot of

through the intercession of saints is explicit, this scene has none of the iconographic elements characteristic of the Last Judgement. See OSBORNE 1981, 339.

⁴⁷³ For *proskynesis* in Byzantine art see A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantine. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient* (Paris, 1936); in early medieval Italian art see C. BERTELLI, 59-63.

⁴⁷⁴ I have benefited immensely from conversations with Donal Cooper of the Courtauld Institute who has generously shared his expertise on Franciscan painted crucifixes. Also K. NEIL, "St. Francis of Assisi, the Penitent Magdalen, and the Patron at the Foot of the Cross," *Rutgers Art Review* 9-10 (1988-1989) 83-110.

⁴⁷⁵ Elias was one of St Francis' early companions who was mainly responsible for the erection of the basilica at Assisi. In 1232 he became third General of the Franciscan Order. He was deposed and excommunicated by Gregory IX in 1239. R.B. BROOKE, *Early Franciscan Government. Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, 1959) 83-105.

the cross.⁴⁷⁶ The second quarter of the thirteenth century saw the introduction, iconographically, of the gesture of holding one's hands together in front of the torso while kneeling in prayer with the torso erect.⁴⁷⁷ This new convention is found in papal portraits beginning with that of Gregory IX (1227-1241), for example in his façade mosaic of Old St Peter's (no longer extant) (III.19).⁴⁷⁸ Another thirteenth-century example occurs in a wall-painting in the Tour Ferrande at Pernes in France representing Charles of Anjou's enfeoffment with the Kingdom of Sicily by Clement IV.⁴⁷⁹ This gesture was swiftly appropriated by patrons for donor figures and venerating saints.⁴⁸⁰ Devotional images

⁴⁷⁶ Later crucifixes place St Francis himself, or Mary Magdalen, kneeling at the base of the cross, either with hands held open, in a type of *orans* gesture, or embracing the cross or the feet of Christ to caress or kiss his wounds. For example, the painted cross of the St Clare Master in S.Chiera in Assisi (1270s) and that of the Aretine School in S.Francesco in Arezzo (c.1250-1300). Both show Francis kissing the wounded feet of Christ. The former also depicts two donor figures on either side of the feet of Christ, also kneeling in veneration. See NEIL, Figs. 2, 3.

⁴⁷⁷ It has been claimed that the gesture of praying while holding one's hands together in front derives from an Indic practice introduced into the west in the 13th century along with the counting device (a string of beads) to accompany the newly established Rosary. L.K. LITTLE, *Religious Poverty and Profit Economy* (London, 1978) 210-211. However, it has since been shown that the gesture had an earlier western tradition indicating a vassal's homage to a lord. G.B. LADNER, "The gestures of prayer in papal iconography of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries," in *Didascalie. Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda* (New York, 1961) 245-275, pp.258-259.

⁴⁷⁸ The image, recorded by the antiquarian Ciaconius, is held in Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Vat.Lat.5408, p.43. For the conflict regarding the pope's posture between this drawing and the description in Grimaldi's archaeological notes see LADNER, 251-253.

⁴⁷⁹ Charles kneels before the pope with his hands joined in front of his chest. *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ This gesture was not adopted, however, in images of St Francis who continues to kneel at the foot of the cross with his hands held open to receive the body and blood of Christ. His gesture is eucharistic and has a quasi-liturgical function. Francis' posture was

of venerators kneeling with their hands held together in front of them are thus also connected to Papal-Angevin politics and are widespread through the influence of the mendicant orders who preached personal penance.

Through mendicant preaching and example, personal penance became common practice. In 1207 St Francis had abandoned his home and family to live a life of voluntary penance.⁴⁸¹ Voluntary penance meant the free acceptance of the ascetic regime imposed by the Church on penitent public sinners.⁴⁸² Francis later sent out his followers to preach, as Christ had sent out his apostles, and they identified themselves as the penitents of Assisi, "viri poenitenciales, de civitate Assisio oriundi."⁴⁸³

The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 established doctrine that was to influence religious practices for the following two centuries. At Lateran IV, Pope Innocent III introduced the legislation by which every Christian was obliged to confess at least once a year to his own

imitated by the congregation during the mass at the moment in which the host was elevated. There is one image of Francis at the foot of the cross with his hands together, in the late 14th-century Crucifixion fresco in the Dominican church in Arezzo. Thanks again to Donal Cooper for this explanation.

⁴⁸¹ In his testament in 1226 Francis recorded his conversion stating that the Lord told him "...incipere facere poenitentiam." G.G. MEERSSEMAN, *Ordo Fraternalitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols. (Roma, 1977) I, 355.

⁴⁸² A penitent exchanged his worldly clothes for a religious habit and renounced public office, the carrying of arms, and commercial enterprises, and practiced more frequent abstinences than the other faithful. *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, 357.

priest.⁴⁸⁴ At the same council, Innocent made the first papal declaration on the Last Judgement, an event which triggered a series of further declarations on the fate of the soul. Innocent III stated that Christ would return to judge the living and the dead according to their merits, thus implying that good deeds were the criteria of salvation.⁴⁸⁵ Increasingly throughout the thirteenth century, however, there was a tendency to focus on the immediate fate of the soul at the moment of death,⁴⁸⁶ and the criteria for salvation became closely connected with

⁴⁸⁴ INNOCENTIUS PP. III, *Concilium Lateranense IV*, 1215, Constitutione 21: Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti...., in *Conciliarum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, J. ALBERIGO ET AL., eds. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1962) 221.

⁴⁸⁵ INNOCENTIUS PP. III, *Concilium Lateranense IV*, 1215, Constitutione 1: ...venturus in fine saeculi iudicare vivos et mortuos, et redditurus singulis secundum opera sua, tam reprobis quam electis. Qui omnes cum suis propriis corporibus resurgent, quae nunc gestant, ut recipiant secundum merita sua, sive bona fuerint sive mala, illi cum diabolo poenam perpetuam et isti cum Christo gloriam sempiternam.... in *Ibid.*, 206.

⁴⁸⁶ A. BERNSTEIN, "The Invocation of Hell in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. HANKINS ET AL., eds. (New York, 1987) 13-54. In 1243, Innocent IV declared that those who die free of sin will pass immediately to eternal paradise and that those who die in mortal sin, without having confessed and begun penance, will be tormented forever by the flames of Gehenna. For Innocent IV's letter see Chapter II, n.302. In a later commentary Innocent wrote that someone in a state of mortal sin will never be absolved by God until he has first been absolved by a priest. INNOCENTIUS PP. IV, *In Quinque Libros Decretalium*..., P. ROSELLI, ed. (Venice, 1578 [Frankfurt on Main, 1570]), Lib.V, Rubric XXXVIII: "De poenitentiis et remissionibus," cap.XII, n.4, f.225r: ...nunquam absolvetur à Deo iste peccator, postquam se ligavit peccato, nisi prius absolvetur à presbytero.... Also cited in BERNSTEIN, 18 n.13. The fate of the sinner is specifically placed at the moment of death by Gregory X in 1274 in his profession of faith composed for the Byzantine emperor Michael Paleologus, but good deeds are still the criteria for salvation. See above Chapter II, n.302. GREGORIUS PP. X, *Professio fidei Michaelis Palaeologi*, 1274:die quadragesima post resurrectionem cum carne, qua resurrexit, et anima ascendisse in coelum et sedere ad dextram Dei Patris, inde venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos et redditurum unicuique secundum opera sua, sive bona fuerint sive mala.... in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum*

the obligatory confession and subsequent penance instituted by Innocent III.⁴⁸⁷ This theme was transmitted to the populace through mendicant preaching.⁴⁸⁸ Gradually, if only by chronological coincidence, the new prayer gesture in which the hands were placed together in front of the chest, in combination with the kneeling posture of supplication, was associated with the new emphasis on salvation through penance. Thus, pious members of the merchant class, a new genre of art patron emerging at the end of the thirteenth century, began to commission, among other themes, Last Judgement scenes in which they represent themselves in penitential posture with the explicit hope of arriving in Paradise. The relocation of the moment of judgement of the soul from the end of time to the moment of death also lent a sense of urgency to the intercession of the saints, which resulted in the representation of the Virgin directly among the blessed in this group of Tuscan Last Judgement scenes. Thus the donor figure in the Last Judgement scene, through his penance at the foot of the cross and by

Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum..., R.P.D.A. Tomassetti, ed. (Turin, 1857-1872), IV (1859) 27; H. DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum. Definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*, I.B. UMBERG, ed., 26th ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1947) 215.

⁴⁸⁷ This is expressed in visual terms in a Last Judgement scene on the right wall of the presbytery in the church of S.Beignate in Perugia, dated c.1260-1270, where, although there is no donor figure, the figures of the Resurrection and the Procession of the Blessed stand with their hands held together in front, while in the lowest register, a procession of penitents self-flagellate and beat their chests. See P. SCARPELLINI, "La Chiesa di San Beignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina del Duecento," in *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia. La Chiesa di San Beignate a Perugia*, M. RONCETTI ET AL., eds. (Milan, 1987) 93-158, pp.110-117, Pls. 66, 74; also Chapter I, n.158.

⁴⁸⁸ BERNSTEIN, 42-54, describes the dissemination of papal declarations through Parisian preachers, including a sermon of the Franciscan John of Meth preached in 1273 who cites Luke 13:5: Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

the mercy of the Virgin who intercedes *among* humanity, will attain personal salvation at the time of his death.

The reappearance in the later thirteenth century of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene, complete with vivid images of Paradise and Inferno, is most certainly related to the renewed interest in the fate of the soul immediately after death, and to the penitential rituals which gradually became the criteria for safe passage. The earliest of these scenes, by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, appear on Tuscan pulpits built for the preaching of penance. The dependence of the fresco in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania on Giotto's Last Judgement in Padua serves to highlight the significance of the large cross and the other distinguishing features, not only of these two frescoes, but of the entire group of Tuscan Last Judgement scenes which reveal the artistic innovations spawned in the early fourteenth century to accomodate the theological developments of the previous century.

IV

THE ANGEVIN CONNECTION

The revival of the complete Last Judgement scene in monumental painting in Central Italy, which began with the innovations of Cavallini and Giotto, continued in three surviving monuments in Tuscany: the cupola mosaics of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence (c.1271-1330), the fresco decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Bargello in Florence (c.1322), and the façade sculpture of the cathedral of Orvieto (c.1290-1330). In each case we can posit a distinct association with the Angevin presence in Italy in the fourteenth century. The decoration of the Florence Baptistery was undertaken by the Guild of the Calimala at a time when administration of the Baptistery was shared between the Guild and the Church. Guelf and papal affiliation of the Calimala provides the departure point for an inquiry which yields interesting circumstantial evidence linking the program to the Guelf-Ghibelline peace negotiations of 1273.

Due to loss of pigment on the west wall of the Magdalen chapel it is unclear whether a Last Judgement scene was included in the decoration. Nevertheless, monumental scenes of Paradise and Inferno, facing each other on opposite walls, clearly allude to the judgement of

the soul. I will show that the decorative program of the Magdalen Chapel reflects the function of the chapel as *cappella del podestà*. I will, furthermore, provide documentation to demonstrate a direct involvement of the Angevins in the building of the Bargello. With further evidence of Angevin control of the office of *podestà*, I will present a strong case for Angevin intervention in the choice of the painted program in the Magdalen Chapel.

Although the relief sculptures on the façade of Orvieto Cathedral were produced in the decades *after* papal and the Angevin occupation of the city, the façade program provides a classic case of the international influences brought to Orvieto by the French clergy, the Angevin monarchy, the papacy and the mendicant orders. This chapter will demonstrate that the patronage of all three monuments is closely connected to some aspect of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.

BAPTISTERY OF SAN GIOVANNI, FLORENCE, c.1271-1330

Despite its early beginnings, the Baptistery cupola does not belong to the group of early Tuscan innovations, neither stylistically nor iconographically. While the program of the cupola of the Baptistery of San Giovanni may have been determined in the 1270s, as we will see, the iconography of the Last Judgement scene developed independently of the early Tuscan group. I will propose that the Baptistery cupola Last Judgement scene is emblematic of the then-recent alliance of the Angevin monarchy and the papacy and I will suggest that its singular nature may nonetheless be related to the Guelf-Ghibelline peace tribunal in Florence in 1273, presided over by Pope Gregory X and Charles I

Anjou.

Any discussion of the Florence Baptistery cupola mosaics must take into account the repeated restorations which they have undergone over the centuries, making stylistic analysis of the mosaics extremely difficult. The most recent restoration, completed in 1907, succeeded in recovering the appearance of a late thirteenth-century mosaic following the example of the few original parts which still survive.⁴⁸⁹ The paucity of documentation compounds the problems. Nevertheless, recent scholarship has contributed towards a greater understanding of the building and its decoration.⁴⁹⁰

The Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence is a twelfth-century octagonal building with an octagonal roof. The inner surface of the dome is covered with a mosaic decoration of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries which includes cycles of the Old Testament, the

⁴⁸⁹ For a history of the restorations see L. PONTICELLI, "I restauri ai mosaici del battistero di Firenze," *Commentari* 1 (1950) 121-129, 187-189, 247-250; *Commentari* 2 (1951) 51-55. Infiltration of rainwater was a constant problem and repairs to the roof are continuously reported from 1341; the first restoration of the mosaics is recorded in 1402 (p.123). The most recent restoration of the entire cupola began in 1898, was completed in 1907, and extended over a surface of 1039 square metres. C. CONSOLI, "Il Giudizio Finale del Battistero di Firenze e il suo pubblico," *Quaderni Medievali* 9 (1980) 55-83, n.22. In the Last Judgement scene, only the depiction of Paradise in the lower left corner remains untouched by a major restoration. I. HUECK, *Das Programm der Kuppelmosaiken im Florentiner Baptisterium*, PhD dissertation, Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 1961 (Mondorf-Rhein, 1962) 185.

⁴⁹⁰ For documentation see R. DAVIDSOHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1896-1908) IV (1908) 461-465; R. DAVIDSOHN, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1896-1927) I, 738-40; R. DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., G.B. KLEIN / E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, trans. (Florence: Sansoni, 1956-1968) II, 2 (1957) 750-752; VASARI-FREY, I, 328-330. For the literature see CONSOLI, n.4. For more recent scholarship see, *Alla Riscoperta di Piazza del Duomo in Firenze: Saggi per una lettura storico-artistico-religioso dei suoi monumenti. I: Dal Battistero al Duomo*, T. VERDON, ed. (Florence, 1992).

lives of Christ and John the Baptist, and a Last Judgement scene which covers the three westernmost facets of the octagon (IV.1). The influence of Rome's classical revival on the mosaics of the Florence Baptistery can be found in the use of the basilican scheme of narrative cycles, which normally lined the naves of Roman churches, but is adapted in the Baptistery to the octagonal format of the cupola. Each of the cycles begins on the first facet to the right of the Last Judgement, that is, the north facet of the cupola, and continues around five facets to completion on the south facet of the dome. Tiers of twisted columns articulate the scheme in the Roman manner, dividing each of the five facets of the cycles into three scenes. These column motifs are exact continuations of the columns and pilasters that support the dome, thus emphasizing the architectural structure.⁴⁹¹

The central segment of the Last Judgement depicts an enormous figure of the Redeemer seated in judgement within a mandorla, beneath which the dead rise from their tombs to meet their ultimate fates (IV.2). The left and right facets of the Last Judgement are divided into three registers depicting angels, enthroned apostles and the intercessors, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist (IV.3, IV.4). In the lowest register on the left, the blessed pass through the heavenly gate to Paradise where the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, hold tiny souls in their bosoms (IV.5, IV.6). On the right side in the lowest register are the damned who prepare to enter Inferno which is governed by a gigantic figure of Hades, and is populated by demons and sinners suffering the

⁴⁹¹ For structural changes made c.1250 see T. VERDON, "Il Battistero, un monumento religioso al servizio della città," in *Alla riscoperta di Piazza del Duomo in Firenze: saggi per una lettura storico-artistico-religiosa dei suoi monumenti. I: Dal Battistero al Duomo*, T. VERDON, ed. (Florence, 1992) 17-43, pp.30-32.

tortures of eternal punishment (IV.7, IV.8).

The Last Judgment conveys a message of salvation or damnation as pronounced by Christ at the end of time. Its appearance in the cupola of a baptistery and its association with the baptismal rite are significant. Christian baptisteries were often octagonal or circular in shape. Krautheimer has shown that the centralized plan of baptisteries was rooted in early Christian mausolea, which in turn were modelled on the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁴⁹² The association with mausolea transfers to the Baptistery all the implications of burial and Resurrection. According to Mark 16:16, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Symbolic rebirth in Baptism holds the hope of future Resurrection after death, made possible only through the death and resurrection of Christ. A reminder of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord offers the visitor the further hope of his own future Resurrection.⁴⁹³ Krautheimer also mentions the long tradition of baptisteries serving as sepulchres, including the Baptistery in Naples, the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna, and the third Lateran Baptistery in Rome. He also includes S.Giovanni in Florence which was constructed over an earlier medieval necropolis and which contains the remains of

⁴⁹² R. KRAUTHEIMER, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'," *JWCI* 5 (1942) 1-33, p.29. Prestigious Early Christian buildings and paintings provided models for later imitations throughout the medieval period, executed with varying degrees of verisimilitude. See also W. TRONZO, "The Prestige of Old St Peter's: Observations on the Function of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy," *Studies in the History of Art* 16 (1985) 93-112; H. KESSLER, "L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per la decorazione delle chiese mmedievali," in *Fragmenta Picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*, ex.cat. (Rome, 1989) 45-64.

⁴⁹³ KRAUTHEIMER 1942, 17.

at least three eminent persons.⁴⁹⁴

Related to the theme of Resurrection, the Florence Baptistery, whose eastern portal directly faces the western entrance to the cathedral, may also be seen as a representation of the Gate of Paradise. The rite of Baptism washes sins away and opens to the baptized the portals of the Kingdom of Heaven. As a result, the Baptistery was envisioned in the middle ages as a gateway leading the baptized Christian into the Heavenly City, in this case represented by the Cathedral of Florence.⁴⁹⁵ According to the writings of early Christian authors, such as St Ambrose, Clement of Alexandria and Augustine of Hippo, the number eight, and hence the octagonal form of the cupola, was a symbol of Resurrection and regeneration.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, the number eight was thought by the Dominican, Albertus Magnus, to represent the Day of Judgement, the consequence of this life, following as it does the seven thousand years or seven ages of the world.⁴⁹⁷

Considering the function of the Florence Baptistery and the

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28-30. Also VERDON, 27.

⁴⁹⁵ This concept is found in the writings of THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae* III, Q.69, A.7, in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici Opera Omnia*, 50 vols. (Rome, 1882-1992) XII (1906), T. DE VIO CAIETANI, ed., 111. See also G. LE BRAS, *Institutiones ecclésiastiques de la chrétienté médiévale*, 2 vols. (Tournai, 1959) I, 126 n.4; E.M. ANGIOLA, "'Gates of Paradise' and the Florentine Baptistery," *AB* 60 (1978) 242-248, p.242 n.4.

⁴⁹⁶ J.F. DÖLGER, "Zur Geschichte des altchristlichen Taufhauses. I: Das Oktagon und die Symbolik der Achtzahl," *Antike und Christentum* 4 (1934) 153-187, pp.165-182. For Augustine of Hippo's discourse on the 'eighth day' and the hypothesis that the Florence Baptistery was inspired by Ambrose's octagonal design for the Milan Baptistery in the 4th century, see VERDON, 27-32.

⁴⁹⁷ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Commentary on Psalm 6*, BORGNET, ed., XIV, 72, cited in V.F. HOPPER, *Medieval Number Symbolism* (New York, 1969 [1938]), 112.

complex symbolism of its structure, it is, therefore, appropriate to find that the Last Judgement, describing the fates of saints and sinners at the end of the world after the final Resurrection, dominates the decoration of the Baptistery. Although the Last Judgement occupies the three westernmost facets of the cupola, this location is directly above the *scarsella*, at the most sacred liturgical east end of the Baptistery, and is thus the focus of the congregation's attention.⁴⁹⁸ In its location over the main altar and in the representation of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (IV.6), the Baptistery's Last Judgement scene makes a further association with the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem where a Last Judgement scene, including the three patriarchs, was once represented in mosaic over the altar, dated 1047.⁴⁹⁹

The dating of the Florence Baptistery cupola mosaics is still not secure. Opinions on the date have ranged from the third quarter of the thirteenth century to the second quarter of the fourteenth.⁵⁰⁰ Work

⁴⁹⁸ Other examples of this placement in Lazio: S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (see above, Chapter III, n.378). In Abruzzo: S.Maria in Pianella near Chieti (early 13th century), S.Maria in Lago in Moscufo (1280s) and S.Maria di Ronzano near Teramo (1281). In the Marche: S.Agostino in Rimini (14th century, now in the Museo Civico). In Apulia: S.Leonardo in Bitonto (14th century).

⁴⁹⁹ See J. FOLDA, *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land, 1098-1187* (Cambridge, 1995) 229-231; NASIR-I-KHUSRAU, *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine (AD 1047)*, G. LE STRANGE, trans. (London, 1888) 60. I am grateful to Erica Dodd for this reference.

⁵⁰⁰ E.F. ROTHSCHILD & E.H. WILKINS, "Hell in the Florentine Baptistery mosaic and in Giotto's Paduan fresco," *Art Studies* 6 (1928) 31-35, p.33 n.2, date the mosaic before 1300 on the basis that it inspired Giotto's Last Judgement in Padua, dated c.1305. W. & E. PAATZ, *Die Kirchen von Florenz. Ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*, 6 vols. (Frankfurt on Main, 1940-1954) II (1941), 200, give the completion date as c.1325. C.L. RAGGHIANI, *Pittura del dugento a Firenze* (Florence, 1957), attributes the Last Judgement mosaic to Coppo di Marcovaldo, active between the 1250s and 1270s. HUECK, 14-20, proposes, on stylistic grounds, that the original plan for the mosaic was established between 1250 and 1260 and that the program was changed c.1265-70

had commenced on the decoration of the dome by 1271, and in Robert Davidsohn's view, the project required many hands, took more than 50 years to complete, and was still not finished in 1325.⁵⁰¹ Between 1298 and 1301 the council of the Arte di Calimala, the guild that supervised operations of the Baptistery, hired various *maestri* who, according to Davidsohn, "dipinsero gli otti spicchi della cupola."⁵⁰² *Painting* the eight facets of the dome, rather than applying mosaics, suggests that if any mosaics had been completed by 1301, it was only those on the upper parts of the cupola, and the lower parts of all eight facets still required underpainting.⁵⁰³ A document of December 1321,⁵⁰⁴ stating

and fixed in the 1280s. J. POLZER, "Aristotle, Mohammed and Nicholas V in Hell," *AB* 46 (1964) 457-469, p.460, follows Paatz. A *terminus post quem* of 1268, based on the presence of a peace-making Dominican friar among the blessed in the Last Judgement, is suggested by A. GARZELLI, "Per una lettura del Giudizio Universale nel Battistero di Firenze," in *Romanico Padano, Romanico Europeo*, Convegno Internazionale di studi, Modena 1979, A.C. QUINTAVALLE, ed. (Parma, 1982) 399-410, p.400.

⁵⁰¹ DAVIDSOHN, *Forschungen*, IV, 461, reports the erection of scaffolding in 1271 based on documents in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze. According to a document transcribed in VASARI-FREY, I, 329-330, in 1271 an agreement was reached between the Florence chapter and the Arte dei Mercatanti whereby proceeds from saints' feasts were allocated for mosaic works in the Baptistery. Documents dating between 1150 and 1530 pertaining to the Baptistery are reproduced on pp.328-378.

⁵⁰² DAVIDSOHN, *Storia*, III, 750. In the statutes of the Calimala regarding the Baptistery, Lib.I, Rubrica X, fol.7b: Consules teneantur et debeant providere rimari et circari facere per se ipsos et magistros et alios quos viderint convenire ecclesiam beati Joh. Bapt. et specialiter lingnamina armature, facte dudum pro opere musaico *depingendo*, et ubi et quando opus fuerit faciant reactari.... (my italics) reproduced in VASARI-FREY, I, 330.

⁵⁰³ *Dipingere* refers to general image-making (to depict) which might include mosaic as well as painting and drawing. However, in a document regarding the mosaic production at Orvieto in 1360, *dipingere* clearly refers to underpainting. *Cam. VI*: 1360, 5 September, fol.152v: Item dedit Lippo Pietro Magalotti Niccolaii pro X librarum senopie terre viridis et otrie quas voluit frater Johannes pro *depingendo*.... Thanks to Catherine Harding for bringing this to my attention. See C.

that two officials in charge of mosaics were to be elected by the consuls every year, confirms that the mosaics had not yet been completed, and suggests that they were neither very near completion. Based on the argument presented above in Chapter II regarding the frescoes of S.Maria Donnaregina and the Beatific Vision controversy, a *terminus ante quem* of 1332 is provided for the Baptistery cupola mosaics by the presence of the three patriarchs in Paradise. If the designs for the mosaics were determined some decades before execution, c.1270-1280, a belief in judgement at the end of time might still have been prevalent, if not entirely orthodox. There would have been opportunities to change the design, however, if the mosaics had not been completed before the Beatific Vision controversy broke out. From a stylistic comparison with some thirteenth-century paintings, Irene Hueck proposes that the original design for the cupola of the Baptistery was conceived between 1250 and 1260 during a period of financial and political revival in Florence. She insists, however, that no progress was made in the years around 1260 due to the losses suffered in the bloody Battle of Montaperti, near Siena, in which the Ghibelline supporters of Manfred, Frederick II's illegitimate son, defeated the Guelf supporters of the papacy.⁵⁰⁵ Hueck claims that later changes were made to the first plan for the cupola mosaics which affected the lower registers. The Last Judgement, she suggests, might have been originally planned in four registers to coincide with the disposition of the narrative cycles,

HARDING, "The Production of Medieval Mosaics: the Orvieto Evidence," *DOP* 43 (1989) 73-102, p.88 and Document 28 (p.94).

⁵⁰⁴ CONSOLI, 57 n.10; VASARI-FREY, I, 337.

⁵⁰⁵ HUECK, 14.

spreading Heaven and Hell over two registers. The change to three registers was made to the plan at the beginning of work on the Last Judgement scene, no earlier than 1265 or 1270.⁵⁰⁶ Hueck's dating coincides with the period of Guelph recovery and Angevin intervention in Florence.

Consistent with this is Garzelli's *terminus post quem* of 1268 for the scene of Heaven in the lowest register of the left facet of the Last Judgement. In a crowd of souls on the right side of the scene (IV.5) Garzelli has identified, on the basis of costume, the three most prominent figures in the front of the group as emblematic of a monarch, a mendicant preacher (clearly a Dominican), and a lay or civil representative (she suggests perhaps a consul of a guild).⁵⁰⁷ Garzelli asserts that a program which exalts the politico-religious function of the Dominican Order (friars were often emissaries of the Papacy) would have been unthinkable in Florence before 1264 while the city was under Ghibelline control,⁵⁰⁸ but that it would be more plausible after the downfall of the Ghibelline party in 1268-1269. She dates the design of the scene of Paradise in the lowest register of the Last Judgement to the period of Dominican involvement in the political pacification of

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵⁰⁷ GARZELLI, 400 and n.3. Garzelli reads this group according to the tri-partite order formulated by Georges Dumézil, and considers the monarch to fit the classification of *bellator* who administers justice and peace, the mendicant preacher the *orator*, and the layman a representative of the productive class, *laborator*. She also cites G. DUBY, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978). The three figures most likely represent an Angevin monarch (Charles I, indeed administrator of justice and peace), a Dominican friar (Dominic or Thomas Aquinas), and a consul of the Arte di Calimala which administered the Baptistery. A Franciscan and two bishops are also highly prominent in the back row.

⁵⁰⁸ In 1264 the papacy began to mount its anti-Manfred campaign.

Florence after the Guelf victory over the Ghibellines.⁵⁰⁹

The Guelf-Ghibelline peace process was initiated by a directive of Gregory X (1271-1276) and supervised by Charles of Anjou.⁵¹⁰ Charles also promoted the Dominicans by establishing them in his southern kingdom and granting them guardianship of the relics of Mary Magdalen, recovered near Marseilles in 1279.⁵¹¹ From 1260 until 1267 the Ghibellines had controlled Florence and most of Tuscany.⁵¹² It is entirely possible that work on the Baptistery might have slowed or stopped during Ghibelline hegemony since the administration of the Baptistery was controlled by the Papacy and the Guild of the Calimala which was staunchly Guelf.⁵¹³ According to the guild statutes, candidates for office in the Guild of the Calimala had to be adherents of the Parte Guelfa, lovers of the Holy Roman Church, and of

⁵⁰⁹ GARZELLI, 400-401.

⁵¹⁰ According to SALVEMINI, 17-18, Charles of Anjou impeded conciliation between Guelf and Ghibelline. He persecuted the the Ghibellines while reinforcing the Guelfs in order to have a strong party in Florence at his command. Also in accord, HOLMES, 18-20.

⁵¹¹ SAXER, 228-230, 244-245, notes that the chapel of the Madeleine in Marseilles was built on the foundations of a former baptistery and played an important role in the Easter liturgy from the 13th to 18th centuries.

⁵¹² Only Lucca remained under Guelf government. For the struggles of these years and eventual Guelf supremacy, see SALVEMINI, 14-23; J. LARNER, *Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch 1216-1380* (London-New York, 1980) 38-43; HOLMES, 3-24.

⁵¹³ G. Villani writes that from the mid-12th century the care of the Baptistery and the church of San Miniato al Monte was entrusted to the *consules mercatorum* of the Arte di Calimala. Full tutelage, however, was only conferred in 1330 and prior to that had been shared by the powerful authority of the Church. This is apparent in documents such as a 1209 bull of Innocent III and *Patti e Convenzioni fra i vescovi di Firenze e i Consoli di Calimala* of 1296. DAVIDSOHN, *Storia*, I, 996.

untarnished reputation in the guild and in the commune.⁵¹⁴ A parchment of 1300 names some members of the Guild of the Calimala, among which are found the Bardi and Peruzzi families, who are known Guelf supporters and bankers to the popes and the Angevin kings.⁵¹⁵ The implication of this evidence is that the decoration of the cupola of S.Giovanni in Florence fell within the influence of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.⁵¹⁶ Determination of the final program and the execution of the mosaics was handled by the administrators of the Baptistery, ie., the Church and the Guild of the Calimala, during the period of Angevin domination of Florentine politics and the potent alliance of the papacy and Guelf party with the Angevin monarchy. Within this context it is reasonable to speculate that some of the on-going changes made to the design of the cupola mosaics between c.1260 and c.1280 may have been made during the pontificate of Gregory X (1271-1276). Gregory's visit to the Holy Land before his election as pope and his attempts as pope to reconcile the eastern and western Churches⁵¹⁷ might even have informed the choice of the particularly "Byzantine" style of the program. Gregory visited Florence with Charles of Anjou in 1273 in an

⁵¹⁴ E. STALEY, *The Guilds of Florence* (London, 1906) 118.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵¹⁶ There is no evidence of direct Angevin involvement in the affairs of the Baptistery but the gift to the Baptistery of relics of the True Cross by Louis of Anjou c.1370, may have been a gesture of continued association. A. FROLOW, *La relique de la Vraix Croix* (Paris, 1961) 519; E. BORSOOK, *Mural Painters of Tuscany*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1980) 93 n.45.

⁵¹⁷ Even before his coronation, one of Gregory's first acts as pope was to organize a crusade to the Holy Land. *Les registres de Gregoire X (1272-1276)*, J. GUIRAUD, ed. (Paris, 1892) 1-4; L. GATTO, *Il pontificato di Gregorio X* (Rome, 1959) 63-106; H.K. MANN, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, 18 vols. (London, 1925-1932) XV, 353-358.

attempt to reconcile Guelfs and Ghibellines.⁵¹⁸ The decision to place a Last Judgement scene in the cupola of the Baptistery, located over the altar, and including the three patriarchs in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre, might have been made by Gregory X (or in his honour) around the time of his sojourn in Florence for the peace tribunal which included Charles of Anjou, several jurists and cardinals, and representatives of both parties. So, although there is no documentary evidence to link either Pope Gregory X or Charles of Anjou to the design of the mosaic, the Last Judgement scene in the cupola of the Florence Baptistery may be nevertheless suggestively associated with the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance; it was surely determined about the time of Gregory's papacy. The prominence of the judging Christ-Redeemer could be read convincingly as emblematic of the triumph of Papal-Guelf politics in Florence, achieved and sustained after 1268 with the support of the Angevin monarchy; the same kings who went on to control the Florentine commune for nearly a century.

MAGDALEN CHAPEL, FLORENCE, c.1322⁵¹⁹

In the Magdalen Chapel those condemned to death said their last prayers. The chapel, also known as the Cappella del Podestà, is located in the northeast corner on the first floor of a civic building in Florence, the former Palazzo del Podestà, now the Museo Nazionale del

⁵¹⁸ HOLMES, 16; GATTO, 214-221, describes the tribunal which established the peace between Guelfs and Ghibellines and the terms of the treaty which lasted three days.

⁵¹⁹ A version of this part of the chapter has been published as "The Judgement of the Commune: the Frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence," in *ZfKg* 61, 4 (1998) 509-519.

Bargello. The palace was the courthouse and the residence of the *podestà*, chief administrator of civil and penal justice. Litigants brought their cases to the great hall for judgement and it was in the Magdalen Chapel that those convicted of serious crimes received their last rites before execution.

The painted decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Bargello consists of an image of Hell occupying the entrance wall (IV.9), a scene of Paradise opposite this on the east wall (IV.10), and scenes from the lives of Mary Magdalen and John the Baptist on the lateral walls. What is striking about the program is the representation of separate, independent scenes of Heaven and Hell, especially in the absence of a Last Judgement scene.⁵²⁰

Several Florentine chroniclers and biographers, from Villani to Vasari, attribute the frescoes of the chapel to Giotto. With few exceptions, these frescoes have been discussed in the art historical literature only within the context of Giotto's oeuvre, or in terms of the portrait of Dante which Giotto is supposed to have included in the scene

⁵²⁰ In wall-painting, Heaven and Hell traditionally form the lower left and right sections of a Last Judgement scene. For example, the frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis, S.Cecilia in Trastevere and the Arena Chapel in Padua. See B. BRENK, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends: Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtbildes* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1966); R. OFFNER, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* (New York-Berlin-Glückstadt, 1930-1960) Section IV: *The Fourteenth Century*, Vol. II: *Nardo di Cione*, 49-51; J. BASCHET, *Les justices de l'au-delà: les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1993) 135-232 (= BASCHET 1993a). Both Offner and Baschet have demonstrated that the separation and enlargement of Hell represents a critical moment in the history of eschatological imagery. OFFNER IV, II, 50; BASCHET 1993a, 293-349.

of Paradise (IV.11, IV, 12).⁵²¹ Filippo Villani, writing at the end of the fourteenth century, recounts that Giotto portrayed both himself and Dante Alighieri in the Magdalen chapel.⁵²² Ghiberti, c.1450, reports that Giotto "dipinse nel palagio del podestà di Firenze, dentro fece il comune come era rubato e.la cappella di sancta Maria Maddalena."⁵²³ The chapel's patronage is not mentioned in these early sources, but a working relationship between Giotto and the Angevins, may have begun as early as c.1310 while Robert of Anjou was a guest of the Peruzzi in Florence⁵²⁴ around which time a portrait of the king was painted on the Palazzo della Parte Guelfa.⁵²⁵ The possibility that Giotto was already working in a Papal-Guelf circle of patronage when he painted

⁵²¹ For documentary evidence, bibliography and summaries of the arguments of dating and attribution of the Magdalen Chapel frescoes see I.G. SUPINO, *Giotto*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1920) I, 231-244; OFFNER IV, II, 49-51; E.H. GOMBRICH, "Giotto's Portrait of Dante?," *BM* 121 (1979) 471-483; G. PREVITALI, *Giotto e la sua bottega*, 3rd ed., A. CONTI, ed. (Milan, 1993 [1967]) 151-155, 348-353; F.F. D'ARCAIS, *Giotto* (Milan, 1995) 370-379.

⁵²² Filippo Villani's original Latin text of the "Vita di Giotto" c.1380 in *Liber de civitatis Florentie famosis civibus*, reports that Giotto painted Dante and himself on an altar panel: ...Pinxit insuper speculorum suffragio semetipsum sibiue contemporaneum Dantem in tabula altaris capelle Palatii Potestatis.... An Italian translation, c.1396, in *Le Vite d'uomini illustri fiorentini scritti da Filippo Villani* places the portraits on the wall: ...Dipinse eziandio a pubblico spettacolo nella Città sua, con ajuto di specchi, sè medesimo, e il contemporaneo suo Dante Alighieri poeta, nella cappella del Palagio del Podestà nel muro.... See SUPINO I, 232; GOMBRICH, 475-477; H. WIERUSZOWSKI, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante," *Speculum* 19 (1944) 14-33, p.20 n3.

⁵²³ L. Ghiberti, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, J. VON SCHLOSSER, ed., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1912) I, 36.

⁵²⁴ G. VILLANI, *Istorie fiorentine di Giovanni Villani cittadino fiorentino fino all'anno MCCCXLVIII*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1802-1803) V, Lib.IX, cap.VIII, p.8; E. BORSOOK & L. TINTORI, *Giotto: the Peruzzi Chapel* (New York, 1965), 7 n.4.

⁵²⁵ J. GARDNER, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *ZfKg* 39 (1976) 12-33, p.22.

the Arena Chapel has been suggested above,⁵²⁶ and a relationship with the Angevins had certainly been established by the time Giotto painted the portrait of Charles of Calabrian the Palazzo dei Priori, presumably during Charles' sojourn there between 1326 and 1328.⁵²⁷ Giotto's move to Naples at the moment of Angevin withdrawal from Florence, after the death of Charles in 1328, suggests his dependence on royal patronage.⁵²⁸

Ignoring the question of attribution of the Magdalen Chapel frescoes to Giotto, I present here the documentary evidence, uncomplicated by considerations of style and attribution. Giotto may or may not have painted the frescoes, but *some* frescoes were, in all probability, executed shortly after January 1322. First, a reconsideration of the documents regarding the Magdalen Chapel frescoes reconfirms the date assigned by Supino in 1920.⁵²⁹ Furthermore, a review of the role of the Angevin monarchs in Florence, in particular their connection with the Palazzo del Podestà, will demonstrate an Angevin bias in the decorative program of the chapel. A painted inscription on the left wall

⁵²⁶ See Chapter III, n.407.

⁵²⁷ VASARI-MILANESI, II, 436; DAVIDSOHN, *Geschichte*, III, 783; WIERUSZOWSKI, 20 n.3; N. RUBINSTEIN, *The Palazzo Vecchio 1298-1532: Government, Architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic* (Oxford, 1995) 47 n.5.

⁵²⁸ Giotto is documented in Naples at the court of Robert of Anjou from 1 December 1328 until 1333. See F. ACETO, "Pittori e documenti della Napoli angioina: aggiunte ed espunzioni," *Prospettiva* 67 (1992) 53-65, pp.57-58.

⁵²⁹ SUPINO I, 236-237, cited a portion of the document presented below in n.484, as the basis for dating the decoration of the chapel shortly after 1321 (1322). His dating was cast into doubt by subsequent art historians but is here revived with additional supporting evidence. Where the date of a document based on the Julian calendar conflicts with our current system, I have added the Gregorian date in parentheses.

of the chapel, below the image of a saint identified as San Venanzio (IV.13), patron saint of the *podestà* of Florence, Fidesmino de Varano, dates the work to Varano's *podesteria* in 1331 and 1337.⁵³⁰ Based on this inscription and the report of a fire in the Palazzo del Podestà in 1331 (1332),⁵³¹ several scholars have dated the present decoration of the Magdalen Chapel to the later 1330s.⁵³² However, nearly identical entries refer to the chapel in the registers of the *Capitoli del Comune di Firenze* and the *Provvisioni del Comune di Firenze* in the Archivio di Stato.⁵³³ These documents serve to establish that revenues collected by the Commune from fines imposed on illicit games, prohibited arms and

⁵³⁰ *Hoc opus factum fuit tempore potestarie magnifici et potentis militis domini Fidesmini de Varano civis Camerinensis honorabilis potestatis....* The rest has been lost but a partially effaced date is inscribed above in a painted plaque at the feet of the saint: ...DNI. M. CCC. XXX For the *podesteria* of Varano see ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.28, f.25 (31 dicembre 1337) and f.68 (30 luglio 1337). As yet I have been unable to find evidence of Varano's *podesteria* of 1331 as reported in J.A. CROWE & G.B. CAVALCASELLE *A History of Painting in Italy: Umbria, Florence and Siena from the 2nd to the 16th Century*, D. LANGTON, ed., (London 1903) II, 50.

⁵³¹ G. VILLANI, *Istorie*, VI, Lib.X, cap.CLXXXIV (28 febbraio 1331), p.255; ASF, *Libri fabarum* XV, f.62v (11 marzo 1332).

⁵³² See BASCHET 1993a, 359, 627.

⁵³³ Many thanks to Sabina Marinetti, Università di Roma Tor Vergata, for her help with the following transcription:

ASF: *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg. 23, f.100v;

Provvisioni del Comune, Reg.17, f.56v:

22 genajo 1321 (1322): Item possint eisue liceat iam dicti priores et vexillifer providere et de pecunia communis ipsius exacta et exigenda et percepta et percipienda ex ludis vetitis et inventione armorum vetitorum et itu de notte post tertium sonum campane quam formam statunt dari et assignari et solvi facere per camerarium camere communis florentie fratribus religiosis pro ipso communi deputatis super constructione et laborerio pallatij communis florentie in quo moratur dominus vicarius regius usque in quantitate centum florenorum auri pro ipsis expendendis solvendis et convertendis per ipsos fratres religiosos in constructione et laborerio pallatij ac etiam in picturis capelle ipsius pallatij et in letterijs dischis fenestris et alijs quibuscumque magisterijs et laboreris opportunis in dicto pallatio.

curfew-breakers were assigned to the lay brothers of the Palazzo del Comune (as the Palazzo del Podestà was also known), in an amount up to 100 gold florins, to be spent on construction and works, including the pictures and the window *oculi* of the chapel. Both documents are dated 22 January 1321 (1322).

While an earlier record exists to indicate that fines collected in 1320 from prosecution of these same crimes were also allocated for works in the Palazzo del Podestà,⁵³⁴ the entries of 1321 (1322) are the first mention I have found in the documents that refer specifically to the chapel. These entries clearly present the probability that frescoes in the Magdalen Chapel were executed in, or shortly after, 1322 when the funding was made available. They also determine that while the operations were placed in the hands of the confraternity, the Commune paid for the work and undoubtedly would have retained control in deciding the program and the artist hired to execute it. Further support of a date around 1322 for the decoration of the Magdalen Chapel is supplied by documents which suggest that the chapel was built as part of a campaign between 1316 and 1320.⁵³⁵ Records of consistent funding for works in the Palazzo del Podestà in these years

⁵³⁴ ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.17, f.15r (4 settembre 1320).

⁵³⁵ G. VILLANI, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, FRANC. GHERARDI DRAGOMANNI, ed., (Frankfurt 1969 [Florence 1844-1845]) Lib.IX, cap.LXXIX (1316), II, 197, 1316: ...per lo detto conte di Battifolle vicario s'ordinò e cominciò e fece gran parte del palagio nuovo ove sta la podestà....

For a date of 1260-1280 for the eastern section of the palace see W. PAATZ, "Zur Baugeschichte des Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello) in Florenz," *MKhIF* 3 (1930-1931) 287-321, p. 317, Docs. 28, 29, 34, 37, and Figs. 3, 4. In my view, the continuous funding and works indicated in the documents from 1316 to 1320 refer to the eastern part of the palace. See also, ASF, *Mostra Documentaria e Iconografica del Palazzo del Podestà (Bargello)*, aprile-giugno 1963, Cataloghi di Mostre Documentarie VII, G. MARTINI, ed. (Florence 1963) Docs. 15, 17, 18.

give little reason to suspect any delay in the decoration of the chapel once the money had been allocated.

The discrepancy in date between the inscription and the documents has been explained by a number of hypotheses: 1) that the inscription refers only to the depiction of San Venanzio, added at a later date,⁵³⁶ 2) that the inscription refers to the decoration of the lateral walls which includes the *stemma* of Fidesmino de Varano in the borders of the narrative scenes (IV.14), and which may have constituted a separate campaign subsequent to that of the end walls,⁵³⁷ and 3) that the inscription refers to a restoration of original frescoes after the fire of 1332.⁵³⁸ A fourth hypothesis is that the decoration of the chapel might have been delayed after its construction by more than ten

⁵³⁶ CROWE & CAVALCASELLE, II, 50, attribute the original program to Giotto in 1301, and date the later addition of the figure of San Venanzio to c.1331. SUPINO I, 236-237, considers the inscription and image of the saint as a later overpainting dated c.1337.

⁵³⁷ Meiss reports that Tintori examined the *intonaco* and concluded that the lateral walls were painted after the end walls, but cites no reference, in P. BRIEGER, M. MEISS & C. SINGLETON, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1969) I, 40-41. For the arms of Fidesmino de Varano, see PREVITALI, 349. For similar arms painted on the frame of a panel in the Louvre, and sculpted in stone in S.Francesco in Pisa (probably belonging to the Ungghi family of Florence), see J. GARDNER, "The Louvre Stigmatization and the Problem of the Narrative Altarpiece," *ZfKg* 45 (1982) 217-247, p.220 and n.9.

⁵³⁸ This possibility was discarded by SUPINO, I, 236-237, on the basis that the fire was concentrated in the western section of the palace and caused no major damage to the chapel, and, that if the frescoes had been damaged, Giotto would have been asked to restore them along with other works he painted in the palace in 1334. For the fire, see G. VILLANI, *Istorie*, VI, Lib.X, cap.CLXXXIV (28 febbraio 1331 (1332)). For Giotto's chronology see PREVITALI, 151-155, and D'ARCAIS, 372.

years.⁵³⁹ Given the above evidence for construction between 1316 and 1320 and for a decorative campaign around 1322, and, given the additional testimony of Giovanni Villani that several building campaigns were undertaken by the Commune immediately after the termination of the *signoria* of Robert of Anjou in January 1321 (1322) to strengthen and beautify the city,⁵⁴⁰ I believe this last hypothesis to be the least tenable. The other three hypotheses still allow for the possibility of an original decoration of the chapel undertaken immediately after the allocation of funding in 1321 (1322). A later campaign under Fidesmino de Varano, probably in 1337 and comprising the lateral walls (or at least the decorative borders and the image of San Venanzio), either completed the program or painted over a previous decoration. On the end walls, the opposition of separate scenes of Heaven and Hell is an unusual feature of the Magdalen Chapel's decoration. The apparent absence of a Last Judgement scene⁵⁴¹ can be explained by the chapel's civic

⁵³⁹ This has never been proposed since no one has connected the chronology of the building with the dating of the frescoes except the restorer, Rossi, who was perhaps unaware of the documentary evidence. Rossi's restoration uncovered an exterior window and traces of trestles of a wooden roof at the base of the entrance wall, indicating that the chapel was added on to an existing part of the building. He concluded that the chapel had not been built until after the fire of 1332. F. ROSSI, "Relazione dei lavori eseguiti nella Cappella giottesca del Palazzo del Podestà," *Rivista d'Arte* 19 (1937) 390-398. The technical evidence requires further study. Rossi's observations are consistent with other documentation but his conclusion is hasty and unfounded.

⁵⁴⁰ G. VILLANI, *Istorie*, V, Lib.IX, cap.CXXXV (31 gennaio 1321), p.138.

⁵⁴¹ The image of Christ above the window in the scene of Paradise (IV.10) represents Christ in Glory, not Christ-Judge. It is not known what imagery existed in the large lacuna above Satan (IV.9, V.10) but the possibility exists of a Last Judgement scene on the entrance wall. Lacking either visual or documentary evidence, however, I follow OFFNER, IV, II, 50, that the entire wall represented Inferno in a manner similar to that in the Strozzi Chapel in S.Maria Novella in

function as the Cappella del Podestà. From the fourteenth until the sixteenth century the chapel was the place of preparation for execution of those condemned to death by the Commune.⁵⁴²

A sixteenth-century painting housed in the Stibbert Museum in Florence serves to demonstrate the function of the Magdalen Chapel. A panel by an unknown artist, consisting of nine scenes, tells the story of Antonio di Giuseppe Rinaldeschi who was hanged in Florence on 21 July 1501 (IV.15). Rinaldeschi, who, in a drunken state had thrown dung at an image of the Virgin, was taken to the Bargello for prosecution. He was brought before the *otto* and condemned to hang from a gallows in a window of the Bargello. To prepare for his ordeal he was led into the Cappella Maddalena where he was comforted by lay brothers from the Confraternity of S.Maria della Croce al Tempio, whose mission was to attend to the condemned in their last hours. On his way out of the chapel, the *fratelli* held before him a holy picture. It was their practice to hold a holy image in front of the faces of the condemned until the last moment of life. In the scene of Rinaldeschi's execution, the composition emphasizes the struggle between angels and demons for his soul as his body hangs from a window of the Bargello.⁵⁴³

Florence (c.1357).

⁵⁴² For the use of the chapel and the function of the confraternity, also known as the Compagnia dei Neri, see G.B. UCCELLI, *Della Compagnia di S.Maria della Croce al Tempio* (Florence, 1861); E. CAPPELLI, *La Compagnia dei Neri: L'Arciconfraternità dei Battuti di S.Maria della Croce al Tempio* (Florence, 1927); R. WEISSMAN, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence* (New York-London, 1982); S.Y. EDGERTON, JR., *Pictures and Punishment: Art and Criminal Prosecution during the Florentine Renaissance* (Ithaca-London, 1985) 51-58.

⁵⁴³ EDGERTON, 51-58. The image of the Magdalen Chapel on the panel (scene 8) depicts the chapel with a low ceiling and blank walls. The Rinaldeschi events post-date renovations to the Bargello which included the division of the chapel into two stories and the

Members of the Confraternity of S.Maria della Croce al Tempio attended to the physical and spiritual needs of the condemned throughout the night prior to execution by bringing a crucifix, spiritual books, lamps, wine, water, mattresses and cushions. Their primary mission was to hear the confessions of the guilty. At dawn they made preparations for mass and communion. Near the appointed hour, the Montanina, the funerary bell of the Bargello, began its slow peal and the lay brothers surrounded the condemned person and assisted him in the procession to the gallows, holding him up if necessary and comforting him with words of mercy. The Magdalen Chapel was, therefore, a theatre of pathetic scenes and laments throughout the night and trembling at dawn.⁵⁴⁴ Thus, for the condemned who entered the Magdalen Chapel, one form of judgement had already taken place. Not the judgement of God but the judgement of the tribunal of Florence. We are reminded of the testimonies of Ghiberti and Vasari that in the great hall of the Palazzo del Podestà Giotto painted the image of the Commune as a seated judge surmounted by balanced scales symbolizing just decisions.⁵⁴⁵ So having been judged, perhaps before Giotto's very image of the Commune, and having entered the chapel for his last rites,

whitewashing of the walls.

⁵⁴⁴ CAPPELLI, 52-55; It has been pointed out that the statutes of the Compagnia dei Neri, referring to the Book of Matthew, the Last Judgement, and the Acts of Mercy, date only from the mid-Trecento. See W.R. LEVIN, *Studies in the Imagery of Mercy in Late Medieval Italian Art*, 3 vols., PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1983, 304-309. The practice of ministering to those sentenced to death, however, dates back long before the official statutes. Documents naming a confraternity in connection with the construction of the Bargello do not specifically name the Compagnia dei Neri.

⁵⁴⁵ Ghiberti, I, Commentario II, 36; Vasari-Bettarini, II, Testo, 116.

the condemned now contemplated the fate of his soul in the afterlife. The alternatives were clearly painted on the chapel walls: Paradise or Inferno.

Yet other themes apparent in the chapel provide clues as to the program's iconographic provenance. On the north wall of the chapel, adjacent to the scene of Paradise on the east wall, are two scenes from the life of John the Baptist: the Naming of the Baptist, and beneath it, the Feast of Herod. Scenes of the life of the Baptist, the most important patron saint of Florence and often an intercessor in Last Judgement scenes, are appropriate in the chapel of a Florentine civic building, and especially here in the company of eschatological scenes. The cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen, covering the south wall with seven scenes and extending to the north wall with one further scene,⁵⁴⁶ also befits the function of the chapel. Mary Magdalen's repentance of her sins, her subsequent penance, her contemplation and apostolate, and her devotion to Christ, all of which resulted in her salvation, set an example upon the walls for every sinner who entered for his last rites.

The cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen recalls Angevin involvement in the promotion of the cult of the Magdalen and suggests at least the possibility of Angevin interest in the decoration of the chapel. In 1279 relics of Mary Magdalen were discovered near Marseilles and accepted as authentic by Charles of Salerno, later Charles II Anjou.

⁵⁴⁶ On the south (right) wall, reading left to right: (upper register) the Feast in the House of the Pharisee, the Resurrection of Lazarus, a window, the Maries at the Tomb, (lower register) the *Noli me tangere*, the Magdalen talking with the angels, the Communion of the Magdalen, and Bishop Maximinus blessing Mary Magdalen. On the north wall adjacent to the entrance in the lower register remains one scene of the Miracle of the Prince of Marseilles. Two other scenes are lost.

A chapel was built on the site, liturgical processions were devised, associations with ancient Provençal legends were developed, and the cult soon spread in France and Italy.⁵⁴⁷ This is not to suggest that a cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen can only be associated with Angevin patronage. Her cult had been growing since the twelfth century and was often associated with the new Order of the Penitents of St Mary Magdalen who sheltered penitent prostitutes.⁵⁴⁸ Nevertheless, as Gardner has pointed out, there is a strong connection between the Angevins and the spread of Magdalen iconography in south and central Italy. The Magdalen altar installed in the Lateran in 1297 was commissioned by cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, friend and councillor of Charles I and later co-regent of the Angevin kingdom during the imprisonment by the Aragonese of Charles II, who later served as pall-bearer at Bianchi's funeral.⁵⁴⁹ The patron of the Chapel of the Magdalen in the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi, where there is a cycle of the saint's life also attributed to Giotto, was Teobaldo Pontano, bishop of Assisi, who had been formerly bishop of Castellamare di Stabia, an Angevin diocese.⁵⁵⁰

Angevin influence had been strong in Florence since Charles I Anjou (1266-1285) had served as *podestà* for a thirteen year period,

⁵⁴⁷ V. SAXER, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en occident* (Paris, 1959) 244-245.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 222-224.

⁵⁴⁹ J. GARDNER, "Seated Kings, Sea-faring Saints and Heraldry: some Themes in Angevin Iconography," in *L'État angevin. Pouvoir, culture et société entre XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Colloque 1995, (Rome, 1998) 115-126, pp.121-122; P. HERDE "Bianchi (Albus, Blancus), Gerardo, di Parma," *DBI* X (1968) 96-101.

⁵⁵⁰ GARDNER 1998, 122.

protecting the interests of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance.⁵⁵¹ He established strong trade and banking links between Florence and the southern kingdom which continued under the subsequent reign of his son Charles II (1289-1309) and were consolidated under his grandson Robert (1309-1343).⁵⁵² From 1313 until 1322, Robert of Anjou controlled the signoria of Florence,⁵⁵³ and his privileges included nomination of the *podestà* of Florence.⁵⁵⁴ Conceivably Charles I, or his vicar in Florence, was intended to reside in the Palazzo del Podestà, and to worship in the Magdalen Chapel, and it might have been with a royal resident in mind that expansion and embellishments were undertaken after the Guelf victory in 1266. A direct Angevin connection with the palace is recorded in 1296, when a door was opened in the south wall onto Via della Vigna Vecchia, and was "sormontata da stemmi."⁵⁵⁵ The *stemmi*, or coats of arms, consist of the keys of the Church above a row of shields representing the cross of the Popolo and the lily of the Commune flanking the arms of Charles II of Anjou in the centre (IV.16). Angevin arms also surmount one of the windows on the north side of

⁵⁵¹ R. DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols. (Florence, 1956-1968), IV, I, 145; É. LÉONARD, *Les angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954) 102-103.

⁵⁵² R. CAGGESE, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1922-1930) I, 567-606; G. SALVEMINI, *Magnati e popolani*, E. SESTAN, ed. (Turin, 1960) 19; M. BECKER, "The Republican City-State in Florence: an Inquiry into its Origin and Survival (1280-1434)," *Speculum* 35 (1960) 39-50; D. ABULAFIA, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy, 1265-1370," *The Economic History Review* s.2, 35, 3 (1981) 377-388.

⁵⁵³ From 1322 til 1325 Florence democratically elected their *podestà* and *capitano del popolo*. G. CAPPONI, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze*, 2 vols. (Florence: G. Barbèra, 1930) I, 162.

⁵⁵⁴ G. HOLMES, *Florence, Rome and the Origins of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1986) 192.

⁵⁵⁵ ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.6, f.114r (10 settembre 1296).

the palace.

In 1325, Charles of Calabria, Robert's only son, was granted the *signoria* of Florence for a ten-year period. Villani reports that Charles immediately wanted to enlarge the terms of his office to be able to appoint priors at will, to control all the important civic offices, and to make war and peace at will.⁵⁵⁶ He assumed the right to name the magistrates of the republic and assured the election to other important posts of those who served his interests.⁵⁵⁷ Moreover, he resided in the palazzo del Podestà from the 30th of July 1326 until the 28th of December 1327.⁵⁵⁸ Construction of the eastern part of the Bargello seems to have been undertaken during the *signoria* of Robert of Anjou (1313-1322). Documents of 1317 and 1319 report both on the construction and on the fact that the King's vicar was in residence in the palace.⁵⁵⁹ Particularly interesting in the present context is Giovanni Villani's report that in 1316 Robert's vicar, the Count of Battifolle, oversaw the construction of a large part of the new palace.⁵⁶⁰ This suggests that Robert's representative exercised considerable influence in the construction of the eastern addition to the Palazzo del Podestà, which includes the Magdalen Chapel, in spite of the fact that it was a Communal palace built with Communal funds and controlled, presumably,

⁵⁵⁶ G. VILLANI, *Istorie*, VI, Lib.X, cap.II (28 agosto 1326).

⁵⁵⁷ CAPPONI, 174.

⁵⁵⁸ UCCELLI, 63.

⁵⁵⁹ ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg.15, f.77r/v (28 luglio 1317); G. GAYE, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV-XVI*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1839-1840) I, Appendix II, 452 (8 luglio 1317) and 458 (20 novembre 1319). See above n.533 for Robert's vicar in residence in 1322.

⁵⁶⁰ See above n.535.

by Communal officials. Considering that the Angevin kings controlled the most important Florentine government offices⁵⁶¹ and maintained strong connections with the Guelph party and the banking families of Florence,⁵⁶² it is not surprising to find that their power clearly extended deeply into Florentine affairs and that they marked their influence in a civic building. In fact Charles of Calabria and his family resided in the Palazzo del Podestà which was made "una dimora degnissima" in his honour.⁵⁶³

Robert's *signoria* in Florence came to an end precisely at the point when the Magdalen Chapel funding was assigned, January 1321 (1322), and was followed by a four year period in which Florence operated without a foreign *signoria*. If Milanesi was correct in identifying the frontally-posed figure to the right of the window in the Magdalen Chapel's scene of Paradise as Robert of Anjou (IV.11),⁵⁶⁴ then

⁵⁶¹ Robert's contract gave him power over the office of the *podestà*. HOLMES, 192. The contract of 1 September 1326 for the Florentine *signoria* of Robert's son, Charles of Calabria, stipulates that "avrà piena balia e potestà...potrà nominare e revocare gli ufficiali del Comune." CAGGESE, II, 90.

⁵⁶² A portrait of Robert (now lost) is reported on an exterior wall of the palace of the Parte Guelfa in 1310. See above n.37. Moreover, Florentine Guelphs occupied key positions at the Angevin court. Bentivegna Buonsostegno of the Bardi company was a councillor and *familiare* of king Robert as well as a consul of the Arte di Calimala. Donato Acciaiuoli was a councillor and *familiare* of Charles of Calabria. Giovanni Villani, the chronicler, having previously been associated with the Bardi company, was appointed controller of currency by Charles. CAGGESE, I, 573-575, II, 82-89; P. LEONE DE CASTRIS, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli Angioina* (Florence, 1986) 314, n.9.

⁵⁶³ CAGGESE, II, 89.

⁵⁶⁴ G. MILANESI, "Commentario alla vita di Giotto, Pt.I: Del ritratto di Dante Alighieri nella cappella del Palazzo del Podestà di Firenze," in VASARI-MILANESI, I, 413-422, p.418. For the problems of this identification see SUPINO, I, 231-242; for portrait versus representation, see GOMBRICH.

its appearance at the end of his *signoria* was probably intended to commemorate Robert's contribution to Florentine military glory, his administration of Florentine civil justice, and probably too, his participation in the building of the Palazzo del Podestà, including the Magdalen Chapel. The procession of the blessed, at the head of which the purported figure of Robert appears, is reminiscent of the lengthy procession in the Paradise segment of the Last Judgement scene in the choir of the church of S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples, a church rebuilt and decorated by Robert's mother, Maria of Hungary. There, Heaven and Hell flank the Last Judgement scene but, notably, are separated from Christ-Judge by two tall windows.⁵⁶⁵ The extent to which Robert of Anjou might have had a hand in designing the painted program of the Magdalen Chapel will probably never be clear to us. Nevertheless, the separation of Heaven and Hell and the choice of a cycle of the life of Mary Magdalen may well represent the dictates of the Angevin king through his direct or indirect intervention with those members of the Commune who made the decisions regarding the chapel.

Elsewhere it has been shown that the Angevin kings associated themselves with the image of the seated ruler-- the monarch as judge in the tradition of Solomon -- and that the numerous images of the enthroned Robert of Anjou are to be seen within this tradition.⁵⁶⁶ Were

⁵⁶⁵ Thus Heaven and Hell, appearing beneath the row of apostles on either side of the windows, approach proportional equality with, and independence from, the Judgement of Christ. For illustrations see R.A. GENOVESE, *La chiesa trecentesca di Donnaregina* (Naples, 1993).

⁵⁶⁶ GARDNER 1976, 23-24; GARDNER 1998, 116. See above Chapter II, n.324. The Angevin association with the image of Judgement supports the possibility that a Last Judgement scene might have appeared above the scene of Inferno on the west wall of the chapel. Such a possibility does not substantially alter the arguments in this chapter.

we intended, therefore, in the absence (or presence) of an image of Judgement, to identify Robert, head of the supreme court of justice in the Angevin kingdom from 1307, controller of the office of *podestà* of Florence from 1313, and thus chief administrator of justice,⁵⁶⁷ with the Judgement of the Commune?

Jérôme Baschet is one of a very few authors to consider the Magdalen Chapel frescoes from a viewpoint removed from the attribution to Giotto. In his studies of the imagery of Inferno from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, Baschet considers the frescoes of the Campo Santo in Pisa, dated c.1330, to be of crucial importance as the first example in monumental painting of the separation of Inferno from its traditional placement within the Last Judgement scene.⁵⁶⁸ In spite of the absence of a Last Judgement image in the Magdalen Chapel, he places the chapel decoration among a group of four Tuscan frescoes which follow the model of Pisa,⁵⁶⁹ where the imagery has been connected with the writings of Dominican friars.⁵⁷⁰ The Florentine frescoes, however, were

⁵⁶⁷ LÉONARD, 204.

⁵⁶⁸ BASCHET 1993a, 308-311, 358-363, 624-627. The Campo Santo frescoes were painted in a funerary context, surrounding the cathedral cemetery. For the original arrangement of the scenes (Triumph of Death, Last Judgement, Inferno, and Lives of the Desert Fathers) see M. BUCCI & L. BERTOLINI, *Camposanto monumentale di Pisa: affreschi e sinopie* (Pisa, 1960).

⁵⁶⁹ BASCHET 1993a, 627, follows Offner's opinion that there was no Last Judgement scene in the Magdalen Chapel. If there were a Last Judgement above the scene of Inferno, the Magdalen Chapel would not qualify as a place where Inferno is separated from the Last Judgement. However, its enlargement and opposition to Paradise still constitutes an important phase in the development traced by Baschet.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 358-359; C. FRUGONI, "Altri luoghi, cercando il paradiso: il ciclo di Buffalmacco nel Campo Santo di Pisa e la committenza domenicana," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* s.3, 18, 4, (1988) 1557-1643.

produced in a civic context entirely different from that of the Campo Santo. If one accepts that the chapel was decorated shortly after the allocation of funds for paintings in 1322, then the Magdalen Chapel images of Heaven and Hell predate the Triumph of Death cycle at Pisa. In which case, the first example of a separate, monumental scene of Hell occurs, not in a Dominican nor in a funerary context, but in a secular setting, in the chapel of a public building where civil judgements were pronounced by judges controlled by the Angevin *signoria*.

RELIEF PANELS OF THE DUOMO, ORVIETO, c.1290-1330

The façade of the cathedral of Orvieto, dedicated to S.Maria Assunta in Cielo, remains a most unusual combination of sculpture and mosaic. Its iconographic program is highly complex and was inspired by a variety of sources (IV.17).⁵⁷¹ From the initiation of the Angevin alliance with the French papacy of Urban IV in 1263, Orvieto was a centre of Angevin and papal power until the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁷² Orvieto's Guelf allegiance, moreover, made Florence its

⁵⁷¹ The relief sculptures have been discussed by J. WHITE, "The Reliefs on the Facade of the Duomo at Orvieto," *JWCI* 22 (1959) 254-302. For the mosaics see HARDING, 73-102. For the iconographic program of the façade, see M. TAYLOR, *The Iconography of the Facade Decoration of the Cathedral of Orvieto*, PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1969; J. GARDNER, "The façade of the Duomo at Orvieto," in *De l'art comme mystagogie. Iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*, Colloque, 1994, Y. CHRISTE, ed. (Poitiers, 1996) 199-209, Pls. C-CVII (= GARDNER, 1996a).

⁵⁷² The Angevin court was a constant presence there until the time of Nicholas IV (1288-1292); the papal Curia, with its preponderance of French cardinals, remained prominent at Orvieto through the papacy of Boniface VIII (1294-1303). D. WALEY, *Medieval Orvieto: the Political History of an Italian City-State 1157-1334* (Cambridge, 1952) 59. Also GARDNER, 1996a, 203.

foremost ally during the same period.⁵⁷³ To find the influence not only of local Tuscan art but also that of Rome and France in the new Duomo of Orvieto is therefore not surprising.

A rich archive of documents records the building of the cathedral.⁵⁷⁴ Negotiations between the bishop and the chapter regarding construction of the cathedral began in 1284.⁵⁷⁵ In 1289 an agreement between the cathedral chapter and the papal chamberlain dictates that the basilica of S.Maria Maggiore in Rome was to be the model for the new cathedral.⁵⁷⁶ The foundation stone was laid by Nicholas IV in 1290.⁵⁷⁷ Nicholas, a Franciscan allied with the powerful Colonna family of Rome, had already begun extensive renovations in two Roman churches closely associated with the Colonna: S.Giovanni in Laterano and S.Maria Maggiore. The latter was particularly favoured by

⁵⁷³ WALEY, 1952, 48.

⁵⁷⁴ For the documents and the history of the cathedral see G. DELLA VALLE, *Storia del Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1791); L. FUMI, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Rome, 1891) (= FUMI, 1891a); L. FUMI, *Statuti e Regesti dell'Opera di S.Maria di Orvieto* (Rome, 1891) (= FUMI, 1891b). Recent useful publications include L. RICETTI, ed., *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1988) and G. TESTA, ed., *La cattedrale di Orvieto. Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo* (Orvieto, 1990).

⁵⁷⁵ The negotiations concerned properties that the canons of S.Costanza (whose annexes included the chapter house of the canons, a cloister, garden and cemetery) would lose in clearing a site for the new cathedral. Eventually Nicola di Trevi, papal notary, was called in as arbitrator and an agreement on an exchange of property was reached. A. DIVIZIANI, "Francesco Monaldeschi Vescovo di Orvieto e di Firenze," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico-Artistico Orvietano* 22 (1966) 16-39, pp.22-23.

⁵⁷⁶ The Duomo should be constructed "...nobilis et solemnus ad instar S.Mariae maioris de Urbe...". FUMI, 1891b, 86-89.

⁵⁷⁷ L. FUMI, "Annales Urbevetani (1161-1332)," in *Ephemerides Urbevetanae*, in *RIS* (Città di Castello, 1920) XV, V, 134; A. FRANCHI, *Nicolaus Papa IV 1288-1292 (Girolamo d'Ascoli)* (Ascoli Piceno: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1990), 251.

Nicholas, who chose to be buried there.⁵⁷⁸ Nicholas IV planned a Genesis cycle and a series of prophets holding scrolls within roundels for the new transept of S.Maria Maggiore. Nicholas' apse mosaic by Jacopo Torriti (c.1295) represents the Coronation of the Virgin above a cycle of scenes from her life in which the Dormition is taken out of narrative sequence and placed directly below the Coronation, putting a vertical emphasis on Mary's death and triumph.⁵⁷⁹ The Orvieto façade also represents a Genesis cycle, prophets in roundels in the Jesse Tree panel (IV.18), and the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin in a central vertical axis, accompanied by a horizontal cycle of other scenes from the Virgin's life.⁵⁸⁰ This suggests that Nicholas IV may have taken more than just a ceremonial interest in the foundation of Orvieto's cathedral.⁵⁸¹ Nicholas' likely intervention and the contemporary Franciscan sermons that inform the iconography of scenes like the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin,⁵⁸² suggest his Franciscan influence in the program.

Indeed, the Franciscans were protected in Orvieto by the most

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁵⁷⁹ J. GARDNER, "Pope Nicholas IV and the Decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore," *ZfKg* 36 (1973) 1-50, pp.1, 6-7, 16-17. (= GARDNER 1973b)

⁵⁸⁰ See GARDNER, 1996a, 200-203, for the resemblances and dissimilarities between the Liberian basilica and Orvieto cathedral.

⁵⁸¹ The role of Nicholas IV in the design of the cathedral is discussed in *Ibid.*, 201.

⁵⁸² The sermon of S.Bonaventura (Minister General of the Franciscans, 1257-1274) for the Feast of the Assumption, and the later Franciscan sermons by Matteo d'Acquasparta (Minister General, 1287-1289) and the Spiritual, Ubertino da Casale, insist on the simultaneous bodily and spiritual Assumption of the Virgin as visualized in the vertical iconography of the Dormition, Assumption and Coronation. GARDNER, 1973b, 10.

powerful Guelf family, the Monaldeschi, and according to Carpentier, the church of S.Francesco, consecrated by French pope Clement IV in 1266, was the official church of Orvieto at the the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁸³ Among the Monaldeschi, many of whom held influential civic offices in Orvieto, Florence and Rome, Francesco Monaldeschi was appointed bishop of Orvieto in 1280 by Nicholas III Orsini and retained this office until 1295.⁵⁸⁴ He is a likely candidate as patron and impetus behind the building of the cathedral. A 1791 history of the Duomo states that the construction of the new cathedral was a top priority of the bishop.⁵⁸⁵ The brief biography of Monaldeschi by Diviziani describes his constant involvement in the initial negotiations and early stages of the construction of the church.⁵⁸⁶ Bishop Francesco was an enterprising patron and builder throughout his tenure at Orvieto, donating property to the monastic establishments of the city.⁵⁸⁷ He was

⁵⁸³ É. CARPENTIER, *Orvieto à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Ville et campagne dans le cadastre de 1292* (Paris, 1986), 45. DIVIZIANI, 21, states that due to deterioration of the episcopal church of S.Maria, solemn ceremonies, like the rites celebrated by the pope, took place in either S.Francesco or S.Andrea.

⁵⁸⁴ For documents pertaining to the political role of the Monaldeschi between 1222 and 1287 see FUMI, "Annales urbevetani," 130-133.

⁵⁸⁵ "Molto egli si affaticò per indurre i Canonici, e i Cittadini al suo sentimento di fabbricare una nuova sontuosa Chiesa ad onore della Bma. Vergine....," DELLA VALLE, 34.

⁵⁸⁶ DIVIZIANI, 22-24.

⁵⁸⁷ CARPENTIER, 45-46, lists his patronage: 1280 the foundation and endowment of S.Luca di Polzano; 1283 conceded S.Gregorio di Soalto to new monks [unnamed] for whom he bought a house in Orvieto; 1288 laid the foundation stone of S.Pancrazio of the moniales of S.Benedict and of two churches outside the walls; 1291 gave the newly built church of S.Lorenzo di Orvieto to the convent of the Friars Minor; in these years, embellished and enlarged the episcopal palace and organized construction of the papal palace.

Nicholas IV's legate to Venice in 1291, where he would have seen the church of S.Marco. S.Marco exhibits distinct parallels with the Orvieto façade, in terms of the cycle of Old Testament scenes and in the use of both mosaics and sculpture combined on a grand scale.⁵⁸⁸ In 1295, however, as an ally of the Commune in its opposition to pope Boniface VIII in the struggle over the Val del Lago, Francesco was transferred by the hostile pope to Florence, where in 1296 the building of its new cathedral began.⁵⁸⁹ Another interesting connection may be posited: the façades of the cathedrals of Florence and Orvieto are both characterized by a central Madonna enthroned and surrounded by curtains drawn by angels. Arnolfo di Cambio, the architect of Florence cathedral, was in Orvieto during Monaldeschi's episcopate to sculpt the tomb of the French cardinal, Guillaume de Bray. This also features a Madonna enthroned beneath a canopy, with angels who draw the curtains around the effigy of the deceased.⁵⁹⁰

With regards to the dating of the façade, Michael Taylor's analysis of the two extant elevation drawings of the Orvieto façade (IV.19) proposes that the anonymous master of the "first" drawing was responsible for designing the iconographic program; the master of the "second" drawing, almost surely the Sienese architect Lorenzo Maitani, *capomaestro* from 1310 until 1330, modified the architectural character

⁵⁸⁸ J. GARDNER, "The Duomo of Orvieto Cathedral in its European Context." (= GARDNER, Duomo) I'd like to thank Professor Gardner for allowing me to read his unpublished manuscript; GARDNER, 1996a, 202-203.

⁵⁸⁹ D. WALEY, "Pope Boniface VIII and the Commune of Orvieto," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* s.4, 32 (1950) 121-140, pp.128, 129 n.1.

⁵⁹⁰ GARDNER, 1996a, 207; TESTA, 41-42.

of the first plan and oversaw its construction.⁵⁹¹ While the completion of the Orvieto relief panels was not much earlier than 1330,⁵⁹² the elevation drawings indicate that the design for the panels was established much earlier, perhaps even some time before Maitani's employment in 1310, if the first drawing predates the second.⁵⁹³ The presumed involvement of Nicholas IV also implies a façade design from the beginning of the project. Documents indicate that work on the façade decoration had progressed to the level of the bronzes by the time of Maitani's death in 1330, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the reliefs panels which flank the portals.⁵⁹⁴

Our discussion now moves to the design of the façade and its iconographic precedents. The mosaic program is laid out on two axes: the vertical axis depicts the glorification and triumph of the Virgin and the horizontal axis relates the Virgin's role within the history of salvation. Giovanni Pisano's plan for the façade of Siena cathedral was surely an important influence, modified at Orvieto to include both the bronze lunette group above the central portal, and the relief panels on the piers, which Taylor believes derive from the tradition of bronze

⁵⁹¹ TAYLOR, 1969, 26-35. The designations, "first" and "second," were assigned by WHITE, 1959, 254-302, although no precise chronology is implied. B. DEGENHART & A. SCHMITT, *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450*, 8 vols. in 2 pts. (Berlin, 1968) I.1, 26-31, nn.11,12 (Inv.Q2, Inv.Q3) also attribute the second drawing to Maitani.

⁵⁹² TAYLOR 1969, 265, reports that the Orvieto documents of 1321 refer to work on the lower part of the façade, specifically the base mouldings, and to the importing of huge marble blocks for the front portals, implying that the reliefs were still being carved and had not yet been installed.

⁵⁹³ According to *Ibid.*, 35, the first drawing predates Maitani's involvement at Orvieto and it is possible that some of the reliefs had been executed before 1310, although not yet installed.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18; WHITE 1959, 267.

doors and Romanesque sculptural ensembles.⁵⁹⁵ Flanking the three portals of the elaborate façade and supported by the massive piers are four relief panels depicting, from left to right, the story of Genesis,⁵⁹⁶ the Tree of Jesse (IV.18),⁵⁹⁷ scenes from the Life of Christ,⁵⁹⁸ and the Last Judgement (IV.20).⁵⁹⁹ Relief sculpture on church façades was common in France but much less so in Italy. For example, in France, at Chartres cathedral (c.1150-1220), and less ambitiously in Italy, at the Baptistry in Parma (c.1200), the sculptural programs are centred on individual portals. At Orvieto, the relief panels read left to right across all three portals and are related to the mosaics above; the entire façade has a two-dimensional effect similar to the south transept façade of

⁵⁹⁵ TAYLOR 1969, 274-281.

⁵⁹⁶ Taylor has concluded that the Genesis cycle depends on a model which preserved characteristics of the archetype of the Cotton Genesis, indicating a maestro or designer interested in the revival of early Christian iconography. *Ibid.*, 275.

⁵⁹⁷ The iconography of this particular Jesse Tree at Orvieto, which includes narrative scenes, is otherwise unknown in the west; related examples exist in Eastern Europe, for example at Sopocani, Arilje and Decani, all in Serbia, and in the Trapeza of Lavra and the monastery of Dochiariou, both on Mount Athos. Taylor has proposed a common archetype close to the version at Lavra but which originated in the west, possibly at Orvieto, before 1265. *Ibid.*, 109-119, 158-183. See also M. TAYLOR, "The Prophetic Scene in the Tree of Jesse at Orvieto," *AB* 54 (1972) 403-417; M. TAYLOR, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34-35 (1980-1981) 125-176. See also GARDNER, 1996a, 205-206.

⁵⁹⁸ The iconography of the New Testament cycle, which delivers the promise of the Jesse Tree cycle, is related to the earlier Italian tradition and shows evidence of the influence of Tuscan artists. TAYLOR 1969, 220, 242.

⁵⁹⁹ For the influences of Byzantine and French iconography and of 13th-century Pisan sculpture on the Last Judgment scene at Orvieto, see *Ibid.*, 257-268.

Notre Dame in Paris (c.1260).⁶⁰⁰ The encyclopedic nature of the Orvieto façade decoration also connects it to the wider tradition of portal sculpture in France where programs represent the history of the universe from Genesis to the Last Judgement.⁶⁰¹ Clearly, even after the departure from Orvieto of the Angevin court, and at the end of the period of local French dominance, a strong French influence still permeates the façade design of S.Maria Assunta in Cielo at Orvieto.

Common to all four relief panels is the vine motif. While an acanthus vine is only truly appropriate in the context of the Jesse Tree panel, it was also applied to the design of the New Testament panel (these two panels flank the central portal). A related grape vine was used to separate scenes in the panels depicting the Genesis story and the Last Judgement (the outer panels of the façade), thus providing a visual unity through all four panels. Taylor has shown that the acanthus vine and the prophetic scenes which it frames are characteristic of the group of Jesse Tree images to which Orvieto belongs. He has concluded, therefore, that the Jesse Tree was the point of departure for the iconography of the four panels on the Orvieto façade.⁶⁰² The unity provided by the repetition of the vine motif

⁶⁰⁰ Common to both façades is the crocket-edged central gable flanked by spires and pinnacles, a large *rayonnant* window (smaller and set in a square at Orvieto) above an arcade (either a gallery of niches or a glazed arcade), statuary in niches, and gabled portals.

⁶⁰¹ At Notre Dame cathedral at Chartres, the Royal Portals of the west façade (c.1150) illustrate human history from the Incarnation to the Apocalypse; the north transept portals (c.1210) describe the ancestors of Christ, his infancy, and the Triumph of the Virgin on a vertical axis beginning with St Anne on the trumeau of the central portal and culminating in the Coronation of the Virgin; and the south transept portals (c.1220) are dedicated to the New Testament, from the adulthood of Christ, through his Passion, to the Last Judgement.

⁶⁰² TAYLOR, 1980-81, Figs.2-27; TAYLOR, 1969, 276-277.

corresponds with the idea of the relief sculpture as a huge chancel screen across the lower façade, reminiscent of the interior sculpture of the elaborate French *jubés* which Gardner suggests may have influenced the design of the Orvieto reliefs.⁶⁰³ And there may be some connection between the design of the pier reliefs and the embroidered copes worn by celebrants of the Mass which takes place behind the chancel screen. A cope of *opus anglicanum*, embroidered with the design of the Jesse Tree composed in foliate medallions, may have been at Orvieto among the possessions of the French Dominican cardinal Hugues Aycelin who wrote his will there in 1297.⁶⁰⁴ Nicholas IV, himself, had a cope of English embroidery with Christological scenes and papal portraits represented in medallions.⁶⁰⁵

Gardner notes that the Genesis and the Jesse Tree (IV.18) relief panels read from bottom to top, while the Last Judgement panel (IV.20) reads in descending order.⁶⁰⁶ He does not mention that the cycle of the Life of Christ on the third panel also ascends from the base. Regarding the Last Judgement, admittedly, Christ sits in judgement at

⁶⁰³ This hypothesis is supported by a design drawing (now divided between London, Berlin, and the Opera del Duomo of Orvieto) for a sculpted pulpit or screen, possibly intended for Orvieto cathedral. GARDNER, Duomo. For a further discussion of the Jesse Tree imagery at Orvieto, see GARDNER, 1996a, 205-206.

⁶⁰⁴ The cope, a gift of Edward I of England, was bequeathed to the cardinal's brother, Gilles (Egidio), archbishop of Narbonne. *Ibid.*; A. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, *I Testamenti dei Cardinali del Duecento* (Rome, 1980), 61-64, 276-320, p.306 item n.35 of Hugues' (Ugo's) *testamento ultramontano*.

⁶⁰⁵ His *piviale* is now in Ascoli Piceno, Pinacoteca Civica.

⁶⁰⁶ GARDNER, 1996a, 205-206. The ascending composition of the Jesse Tree is typical in stained glass versions of the scene, of which there are many in French cathedrals, one prominent example being a large lancet window on the west façade of Chartres cathedral (c.1150).

the top dispensing the sentences below him, and so, in a narrative sense one reads downwards: the Second Coming occurs before the Last Judgement, followed by the arrival of the souls at their final destinations. In another sense, however, the Last Judgement is a iconic scene, a representation of events that take place beyond time, and which defy minute chronological differentiations. Commentators on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, for example, generally agree that the events of the Last Judgement take place simultaneously, *in ictu oculi*.⁶⁰⁷ One is then obliged to read the scene in a hierarchical sense: the depraved appear at the bottom, the blessed above them, and the celestial court at the summit. Seen in this way, all four panels are read from the base of the vine, upward along its branches.

The Last Judgement panel is divided in two, vertically, and into five horizontal registers by the grapevine. In the lowest register on the left is the scene of the Resurrection. The tortures of the damned are depicted on the lower two registers of the right side (IV.21), clearly displaying, in the deep undercutting and emotional quality of the writhing figures, Maitani's debt to the innovations made by Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. Three of the registers above the Resurrection scene and two more above the chain of the damned depict the elect in Paradise, in much lower relief. The Judgment itself (IV.20) takes place

⁶⁰⁷ For example, according to Hugh of St Victor who follows the text of I Cor.15:52, the events of the Last Judgement happen in the blink of an eye, in a point of time that cannot be divided. HUGH OF ST VICTOR, *De sacramentis*, Lib.II, pars XVII, c.8 (PL 176:607): In atomo dicit Apostolus, hoc est in puncto temporis quod dividi non potest, in ictu oculi, hoc est in summa celeritate.... cited in G. DAHAN, "Le Jugement dernier vu par les commentateurs des Sentences," in *De l'Art comme Mystagogie. Iconographie du Jugement dernier et des fins dernières à l'époque gothique*, Colloque, 1994, Y. CHRISTE, ed. (Poitiers, 1996) 19-35, p.32.

on the entire uppermost register with Christ-Judge seated within a mandorla in the centre, apostles and prophets slightly lower on the left and right, and the Virgin and John the Baptist standing on either side of Christ. The mandorla of Christ is borne by eighteen angels, nine on either side, representing the nine celestial choirs.⁶⁰⁸ The depiction of nine choirs is another example of the diffusion of the influence of the *De hierarchia celesti* of Pseudo-Dionysius, not surprisingly found in Orvieto where French popes and Angevin representatives had been in residence for several decades before the building of the cathedral.

The Last Judgement scene reveals a mixture of Byzantine, French and Italian iconographic elements.⁶⁰⁹ The most striking feature is the vine motif, and it is this aspect which resembles the panel of the Tree of Life (IV.22), painted about 1320 for the Clarissan nuns of Monticelli, near Florence, by Pacino di Buonaguida.⁶¹⁰ The panel illustrates the *Tractatus qui lignum vitae dicitur* of St Bonaventure and, like the Jesse Tree panel on the façade of Orvieto cathedral, is unusual in its narrative approach to its subject, possibly reflecting the influence of manuscript illumination. In both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Jesse, however, the traditional composition represents prophets holding inscribed scrolls on either side of an iconic image, either the crucified Christ or the series of Christ's ancestors. The decision to place detailed narrative scenes surrounding a central icon follows the example of

⁶⁰⁸ TAYLOR 1969, 265.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 257-268.

⁶¹⁰ The panel is now in Florence, Accademia delle Belle Arti, n.8459. See M. BOSKOVITS & M. GREGORI, *The Corpus of Italian Painting* (Florence, 1981-1994) III, IX (1984) 82-121; OFFNER, III, VI, 122-135.

thirteenth-century historiated panels.⁶¹¹

The story of Creation runs along the bottom edge of the Pacino panel. Both here and on the Orvieto relief panel the Last Judgement and the celestial court represent the culmination of a story that begins with Genesis and moves through the history of salvation along the branches of a tree or vine. At Orvieto the two central panels, on which the narrative scenes are set within *rinceau* formed by the acanthus vine, resemble the medallions or 'fruits' of Pacino's Tree of Life. Three of the medallions of the uppermost branch on the left of the Pacino panel represent different aspects of the Last Judgement scene (IV.23): the Resurrection (far left), the Separation of the blessed and the damned (centre), and the Punishment of the damned (right).⁶¹² The upper register of the Last Judgement relief panel at Orvieto represents, like the gable of Pacino's panel, the celestial court, but here presided over by Christ-Judge. Flanking the mandorla of Christ-Judge on the Orvieto relief are two trumpeting angels and the instruments of the Passion. Below them are twelve seated apostles and eleven standing prophets.⁶¹³ In the gable of Pacino's panel, too, the celestial court is made up of two

⁶¹¹ This has been pointed out by J.M. WOOD, *Women, Art, and Spirituality: the Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge, 1996) 73.

⁶¹² In each medallion Christ-Judge consistently appears in a mandorla. The scenes are otherwise abbreviated. Related to the early Tuscan innovations are the two trumpeting angels who announce the Resurrection while supporting the mandorla of Christ. In the Separation and Punishment roundels the apostles are abbreviated to one on either side of Christ, appearing to be neither Peter nor Paul. For detailed illustrations see OFFNER, III, II, PL.XXI, PL.XXV.

⁶¹³ If the Baptist is counted among the prophets, the total number of Old and New Testament figures (excluding the Virgin) becomes twenty-four, in reference to the Elders of the Apocalypse, and this concept is consistent with that of the nine choirs formed from eighteen angels. TAYLOR, 1969, 265-266.

groups of nine angels, each angel alternating with a saint or prophet. John the Evangelist and St Francis are accompanied by seraphim and represented in closest proximity to Christ and the Virgin who together preside at the top of the gable. Pacino's inspiration for the iconography of the celestial court and the composition with narrative scenes connected by the vine motif would seem to have been the façade reliefs of Orvieto cathedral or its archetype.

As stated above, the façade of Orvieto cathedral, in its vertical emphasis on the Triumph of the Virgin, embodies a Franciscan ideal expressed frequently in sermons. This may have been due to the inspiration of the Franciscan former Minister-General, Pope Nicholas IV. Taylor, on the other hand, has proposed a Dominican inspiration for the pier relief program of the cathedral. He argues that the archetype of the Jesse Tree on the second panel, the starting point for the relief program, might have originated in Orvieto during the pontificate of Urban IV (1261-1264), perhaps in connection with the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, both of them introduced as part of Urban's antiheretical campaign.⁶¹⁴ He further surmises that the Dominican cardinal and theologian, Hugh of St-Cher, a member of Urban IV's papal court at Orvieto, may have developed the complex iconographical formula for the Jesse Tree.⁶¹⁵

In spite of the apparent conflict between Dominican and

⁶¹⁴ Urban's bull *Transiturus de mundo* of 1264 instituted the feast of Corpus Christi. According to TAYLOR 1980-81, 149-150, both the eucharistic celebration and the Jesse Tree iconography affirm the orthodox position against the heretical sects which denied the humanity of Christ.

⁶¹⁵ He suggests either S.Domenico or one of the two churches later replaced by the new cathedral as the location of the Jesse Tree archetype. *Ibid.*, 150-154.

Franciscan sources for the façade, I would suggest that both perspectives might co-exist. Hugh of St-Cher or Urban IV may have developed the Jesse Tree iconography at Orvieto in the 1260s. Nicholas IV perhaps then adopted and expanded it for Franciscan use on the new cathedral façade in 1290. Monaldeschi then made his own modifications to the program before his departure in 1295; further modifications were made by Lorenzo Maitani after 1310. In fact all the mendicant orders are represented here: in the Last Judgement scene at Orvieto the souls represented in the two topmost rows of the elect, right and left below the apostles, are separated by sex. Among the males to the left (IV.24), the tonsured figures have been identified as Saints Francis, Dominic, and Augustine, each of whom had a church dedicated to him, and a large following in Orvieto.⁶¹⁶

These identifications, however, do not take in to account the other figures depicted in the same register. A closer look at these figures reconciles the conflict between the mendicant sources for the iconography of the Orvieto cathedral façade: at the right, a deacon leads the procession; standing on a platform and turning his head toward the group behind him, he points with his index finger towards Christ. He surely represents the proto-martyr Stephen who leads the elect in the Last Judgement scenes on the Vatican panel and at S.Cecilia in Trastevere. He is followed by a pope, then by St Francis who turns to face left, away from Christ, then a bishop who faces frontally. Two more tonsured figures (almost certainly Dominic and possibly Augustine), another bishop and three more tonsured figures follow. A possible

⁶¹⁶ A. SCHMARZOW, *Ramo di Paganello: il primo progetto per la facciata del Duomo di Orvieto e i rilievi dei quattro piloni* (Siena, 1928), 51; E. CARLI, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1965), 58.

explanation for the contrary poses of Francis and the bishop can be offered if the bishop and Saints Dominic and Francis are considered as an isolated trio. Both mendicant saints face the bishop, who stands between them in a frontal position, his body slightly turned towards Francis, his head turned in three-quarter profile towards Dominic. Meanwhile, with both arms slightly raised, he points with both index fingers upward toward Christ. The implication is that the bishop has placed himself firmly between the two most celebrated mendicant saints in the hope of their intercession on behalf of his salvation. He can be none other than Bishop Monaldeschi who, in his role as patron of the *Opera*, surely understood the shared Franciscan and Dominican roots of the iconography. Based on these circumstances, I should like also to speculate that the pope next to the deacon was meant to represent Nicholas IV, who in this case venerates Christ not at the foot of a large isolated cross, as in the earlier Tuscan Last Judgement scenes, but at the stem of the vine, which also represents the True Cross.⁶¹⁷

Despite the diverse natures of these three programs in the Florence Baptistery, the Magdalen Chapel in Florence, and the façade reliefs at Orvieto Cathedral, each one has an Angevin connection. In the first two cases, the connections reflect the political associations of the patrons. It is more difficult to explain the diverse French influences on the pier reliefs of Orvieto: Angevin domination of Orvieto ended with the pontificate of Nicholas IV (1288-92); Charles I had died in 1285 and Charles II was occupied during most of his reign with the struggle against Aragon over Sicily. Papal power in Orvieto under Nicholas was

⁶¹⁷ See for example the cross superimposed on the vine motif in the 12th-century apse mosaic of the upper church of S.Clemente in Rome.

in Roman hands.⁶¹⁸ A possible explanation is nevertheless here presented: that the original façade design predated Nicholas IV, reflecting an earlier era of French and Angevin dominance, and that French motifs persisted under the control of Francesco Monaldeschi, whose family had traditional links to the former Angevin hegemony in Orvieto.

⁶¹⁸ WALEY 1952, 59.

V

SECULARIZING THE SACRED

In the previous chapters, I have discussed the revival of the Last Judgement scene in Central Italy in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as a reflection of the politics of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance during a period when shifts in doctrinal and theological fashion moved the timing of the judgement of the soul from the end of time itself to the moment of an individual's death. That shift to a more immediate, imminent, moment of judgement resulted in a heightened interest in the fate of the individual believer, reflected, as has been demonstrated, in the portraits of kneeling patrons in the Last Judgement scenes in the Arena Chapel (c.1305) and S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (c.1320). We have also encountered examples of contemporary and historical figures appearing within the Last Judgement scene which indicate a growing tendency towards the 'secularization' of the scene. In Naples at S.Maria Donnaregina (c.1320) Charles II Anjou and Maria of Hungary appear among the blessed; in Florence, in the cupola of the Baptistery (c.1271-1330) Aristotle appears among the damned. Contemporary figures, such as Dante Alighieri and Robert of Anjou, have also been identified in the Paradise scene of the Magdalen Chapel in the

Bargello (c.1322).

But the most telling evidence of the secularization of the Last Judgement scene comes from its use, as I have argued above, as an emblem of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance. Indeed, the scene appears almost exclusively, from the mid-thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth, in Guelf cities; three important examples of the Last Judgement appear in Florence alone: in the Magdalen Chapel, in the Baptistery, and in the Franciscan basilica of S.Croce which will be discussed in this chapter. Florence was politically and, arguably, culturally dominated by the Angevin monarchy until the death of Robert and the fall of the Bardi and Peruzzi banks in 1343. And during Robert's reign, as we have seen in Chapter II, the growing concept of a unified Italy with Robert ruling over temporal matters in harmony with papal ecclesiastical jurisdiction, indicates confidence in the power and durability of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance. The separation of Paradise and Inferno from the Last Judgement scene, an important innovation in Last Judgement iconography, parallels the migration of the theme of final judgement from its celestial domain to a more secular milieu, and likewise parallels the shift in the timing of the judgement to the moment of death. The division of the Last Judgement appears for the first time in monumental painting in the Magdalen Chapel (IV.9, IV.10), that is, in a civic building under Angevin jurisdiction in Guelf Florence. It coincides with other signs, as we shall see, which suggest a move towards the secularization of the Last Judgement scene.

In this final chapter we shall see how patrons and local heroes are depicted in Paradise and political enemies are cast into Hell, if not with greater frequency, then with greater gusto, demonstrating the

increasing secularization of eschatological themes in religious settings towards the middle of the Trecento. Two Tuscan fresco cycles, one formerly in S.Croce in Florence, the other in the Campo Santo in Pisa, will attest to this for the period following the innovations made in the first decades of the fourteenth century.⁶¹⁹ The two very similar cycles are both dated approximately 1330-1335 and were both produced in a Papal-Guelf context. Both cycles, moreover, share one important iconographical feature: the enlargement of Inferno and its separation from the Last Judgement. To begin, I will outline the characteristics of each fresco and discuss the problems of dating in the two Triumph of Death cycles. Then I will consider how the sacred scene of the Last Judgement was secularized in response to the politics of the time. The result of that discussion, moreover, suggests the precedence of the S.Croce frescoes over those in the Campo Santo.

CAMPO SANTO, PISA, c.1330

That Pisa, a powerful Ghibelline stronghold, should be the home of one of the most impressive and most public frescoes of the Last Judgement scene seems at first contrary to the pro-Papal-Angevin arguments presented above. But with Guelf hegemony over Tuscany in the late thirteenth century, Pisa received little support from the Empire and was forced by crippling trade sanctions, imposed by Genoa, into

⁶¹⁹ The cycle in S.Croce was formerly on the wall of the right aisle at the junction of the *tramezzo*. The remaining fragments are now housed in the former refectory of the monastery, now the Museo dell'Opera.

cooperation with the Guefts.⁶²⁰ The probable patron of the Campo Santo cycle, Simone Saltarelli (1323-1342), was carefully appointed as Archbishop of Pisa by Pope John XXII. As we shall see, the frescoes reveal an anti-imperial iconography which can be associated with pro-papal initiatives in Pisa during Saltarelli's archbishopric.⁶²¹

This cycle of frescoes, which includes the Triumph of Death (V.1), the Last Judgement, the Inferno (V.2), and the Thebaid,⁶²² appeared originally on the east end of the south wall of the Campo Santo, the cemetery cloister adjacent to the Cathedral and Baptistery of Pisa.⁶²³ The cycle was once thought to reflect anxiety about death and the

⁶²⁰ E. CRISTIANI, "The Political and Economic Relations of Pisa and the Gueft League in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *The 'Other Tuscany': Essays in the History of Lucca, Pisa, and Siena during the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, T.W. BLOMQUIST & M.F. MAZZAOU, eds. (Kalamazoo MI, 1994) 153-162. For Pisan politics before 1300 and a differing view of Pisa's economy, see D. HERLIHY, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: a Study of Urban Growth* (New Haven CT, 1958) 56-59, 162-175.

⁶²¹ For Saltarelli, see M. LUZZATI, "Simone Saltarelli Archivescovo di Pisa (1323-1342) e gli affreschi del Maestro del Trionfo della Morte," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* s.3, 18, 4 (1988) 1645-1664. For the iconography of the Campo Santo cycle see J. POLZER, "Aristotle, Mohammed and Nicholas V in Hell," *AB* 46 (1964) 457-469, pp.463-467.

⁶²² The title *Thebaid* refers to the upper Nile Valley (named after its capital Thebes) which, from the third century, was the cradle of Christian monasticism. The scene depicts the Lives of the Desert Fathers and is also known by the title *Anacoretí*, meaning hermits or anchorites.

⁶²³ The frescoes and *sinopie* were detached after fire damaged the cloister in 1944. The frescoes are now displayed in a room adjoining the north side of the restored cloister. For the original disposition, description and restoration, see M. BUCCI & L. BERTOLINI, *Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Affreschi e Sinopie* (Pisa, 1960). The *sinopie* are in the Museo delle Sinopie near the Duomo. See A. CALECA ET AL., *Pisa, Museo delle Sinopie del Camposanto monumentale* (Pisa, 1979). For the early history of the Campo Santo see I.G. SUPINO, *Il Camposanto di Pisa* (Florence, 1896).

afterlife in the wake of the Black Death of 1348,⁶²⁴ but subsequent research indicates a considerably earlier date. A *terminus ante quem* of 1345 is provided by several converging pieces of evidence⁶²⁵ and further proposals have also been convincingly made for placing the Campo Santo frescoes soon after 1330.⁶²⁶ Polzer has connected the presumed painter of the Pisan frescoes, Buffalmacco, with the illuminator of Guido da Pisa's *Commentary on Dante's Inferno*, which has also been dated in the years following the imperial domination of Pisa in 1328-30.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ M. MEISS, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New York, 1973 [1951]) 74-84.

⁶²⁵ 1) the death in 1342 of the Dominican Simone Saltarelli, Archbishop of Pisa, who is a likely candidate as patron or author or inspiration of the cycle. LUZZATI, 1645-1664; 2) the mention of the fresco cycle in payments of the Opera del Duomo in 1343. C. FRUGONI, "Altri luoghi, cercando il paradiso," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* s.3, 18, 4 (1988) 1557-1643, p.1643; 3) the dependence on Pisa of a fresco of the Last Judgement in Prato, probably dated 1345. M. MEISS, "Notable Disturbances in the Classification of Tuscan Trecento Painting," *BM* 113 (1971) 178-187, pp.185-186; L. BELLOSI, *Buffalmacco e il Trionfo della Morte* (Turin, 1974) 40-54.

To support a date c.1336-1342 we may add the attribution of the Pisa frescoes to the painter Buffalmacco based on stylistic comparisons and on the painter's presence in Pisa in 1336. Buffalmacco is last documented in 1341 and is mentioned by Boccaccio in the *Decamerone* (written by 1351) as already dead. *Ibid.*, 54, 38.

⁶²⁶ Polzer's identification of Antipope Nicholas V and Emperor Ludwig the Bavarian in the scene of the Inferno would date the painting soon after their Pisan sojourn (1328-1330). POLZER 1964, 463-464. Contributing to a date shortly after 1332 is the death in that year of the hermit, Giovanni il Soldato, whose tomb lies beneath the painting of the Thebaid. The documentation does not ascertain that Giovanni was entombed before the execution of the fresco but is suggestive in terms of providing a *terminus post quem*. FRUGONI, 1634-1641.

⁶²⁷ J. POLZER, "The Role of the Written Word in the Early Frescoes in the Campo Santo of Pisa," in *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, Congress 1986, 3 vols., I. LAVIN, ed. (Pennsylvania-London, 1989) II, 361-372, p.364 n.29. On the dating of the manuscript (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Lib. Duc d'Aumale, ms.597), over which opinions are divided between c.1333 and c.1343 see also V. CIOFFARI,

Although Luzzati does not argue the date of the Campo Santo frescoes, it is his biography of Simone Saltarelli which supplies the most convincing evidence for associating the frescoes with the Archbishop, and for placing them in the period immediately following the domination of Pisa by the Ghibelline general, Castruccio Castracani, and Ludwig IV, duke of Bavaria and Holy Roman Emperor, and the sojourn there of the Franciscan antipope, Nicholas V.⁶²⁸ After the withdrawal of Ludwig from Pisa in 1330, Saltarelli made a triumphant re-entry and set out to reconcile the city with papal interests.⁶²⁹ Saltarelli's involvement in these political events is significant because it ties the likelihood of his patronage to the testimony of Giorgio Vasari. Vasari, and later, Rosini, identify Castruccio Castracani, Ludwig the Bavarian, and Uggucione della Faggiuola, a Pisan Ghibelline general, among the hunters and revellers in the Triumph of Death scene (V.3, V.4).⁶³⁰ Indeed, Vasari may have

ed., *Guido da Pisa's 'Expositiones et Glose super Comediam Dantis' or Commentary on Dante's Inferno* (Albany NY, 1974) xxii; for the dating by Meiss of the illuminations soon after the text of the manuscript, see pp.xxxix-xl; for a description of the manuscript, see p.xvii.

⁶²⁸ Saltarelli, a learned Dominican, former prior of S.Maria Novella and S.Caterina in Pisa, was appointed Archbishop by John XXII to reconcile conflicts between Church and commune. He was involved in the struggle against Ludwig the Bavarian, and in October 1326, he excommunicated Castruccio Castracani, the Lucchese Ghibelline leader who had terrorized Guelf Tuscany since c.1314, and who had called on Ludwig to aid the Ghibelline cause in Tuscany. LUZZATI, 1651-1655.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1655. For the events of 1326-1330 involving the Guelf-Ghibelline struggles, see L. GREEN, *Castruccio Castracani: a Study on the Origins and Character of a Fourteenth-Century Italian Despotism* (Oxford, 1986) 201-259.

⁶³⁰ Castruccio is identified among those seated in the orange grove with a falcon. VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Testo, 219; G. ROSINI, *Lettere pittoriche sul Campo Santo di Pisa* (Pisa, 1810) 43, identifies, in the scene of the Three Living and Three Dead, the hunter holding his nose against the stench of the corpses as Ugucione, and the bearded rider with royal insignia on his hat as Ludwig the Bavarian.

been inspired by Giovanni Villani's description of Castruccio as tall, thin, pale, attractive and graceful, to identify the figure of the falconer in the grove as the Lucchese general.⁶³¹ Moreover, inscriptions in the top register of the Inferno fresco identify one figure as Nicholas V; another figure labelled SCOMUNICHATO, may represent Ludwig IV (V.5, V.6).⁶³² Ludwig of Bavaria's Italian campaign is thus the probable *terminus post quem* of the Campo Santo fresco cycle. In spite of Vasari's attribution of the frescoes to Orcagna,⁶³³ the attribution to Buonamico Buffalmacco is now generally accepted.⁶³⁴

⁶³¹ G. VILLANI, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, FRANC. GHERARDI DRAGOMMANI, ed., 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1969 [Florence, 1844-1845]) Lib.X, p.86.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 463-464; POLZER, 1989, 363-364. Ludwig the Bavarian was excommunicated by John XXII in 1324 prior to his Italian campaign. The Emperor and his entourage travelled to Rome in 1327 for his coronation. They deposed John XXII and elected an antipope, the Franciscan Pietro da Corvaro as Nicholas V. For these events see R. DAVIDSOHN, *Storia di Firenze*, 8 vols., G.B. KLEIN / E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, trans. (Florence, 1956-1968) IV, 1085-1209; J. MOORMAN, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford, 1998 [1968]) 318-325; N. HOUSLEY, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343* (Oxford, 1982) 26-34; C.H. LAWRENCE, *The Friars: the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London-New York, 1994) 62-64.

⁶³³ VASARI-BETTARINI, II Text, 218. Attributions to various other artists have been made since Crowe and Cavalcaselle first disputed Vasari with their own attribution to Pietro Lorenzetti or his brother Ambrogio. J.A. CROWE & G.B. CAVALCASELLE, *A History of Painting in Italy: Umbria, Florence and Siena from the 2nd to the 16th Century*, D. LANGTON, ed. (London, 1903-1914) II, 432. Other attributions: to Francesco Traini in M. MEISS, "The Problem of Francesco Traini," *AB* (1933) 97-173; to Vitale da Bologna in R. LONGHI, "Vitale da Bologna e i suoi affreschi nel Camposanto di Pisa," *MKIF* 4 (1933) 135-137; to an Emilian painter in E. CARLI, *Pittura pisana del Trecento*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1958) I, 56.

⁶³⁴ BELLOSI, 25-54, for Buffalmacco's career, pp.63-109. See above n.625.

The scenes of the Triumph of Death⁶³⁵ (V.1) and the Thebaid⁶³⁶ flank the Last Judgement and Inferno (V.2). In reading the scenes from left to right, the spectator first encounters the Triumph of Death and is warned of his own mortality and the universality of death. Proceeding to the Last Judgement, the viewer is reminded that he too will be judged according to his deeds. The scene of the Inferno shows him the horrors to be endured by reprobates for each specific sin committed. Standing before the Thebaid, however, the horror is relieved by hope, and the preaching of the Desert Fathers urges the faithful viewer to confession, communion and penitence, all of which assure his salvation among the blessed in the afterlife.

It is once again striking, as in the Magdalen Chapel in Florence, to find in the Campo Santo the division of the 'complete' Last Judgement scene. While Paradise maintains its traditional position in Pisa as the left-hand segment of the Last Judgement scene (V.7),⁶³⁷ the Inferno,

⁶³⁵ For the iconography of the Triumph of Death, which is derived from French romance literature, see L. GUERRY, *Le thème du triomphe de la mort dans la peinture italienne* (Paris, 1950); C. SETTIS FRUGONI, *Il tema dell'incontro dei tre vivi e dei tre morti nella tradizione medioevale italiana* (Rome, 1967); F. BOLOGNA, *I pittori alla corte angioina di Napoli, 1266-1414* (Rome, 1969) 42.

⁶³⁶ For the iconography of the Thebaid, rarely represented in fresco at this time, see E. CALLMAN, "Thebaid Studies," *Antichità viva* 3 (1975) 3-22. FRUGONI, LUZZATI, as well as S. MORPURGO, "Le epigrafi volgari in rima...nel Camposanto di Pisa," *L'Arte* (1899) 51-87, have clearly established that the imagery of the Thebaid draws on the texts of Dominican friars such as Simone da Cascina, Giordano da Pisa, Étienne de Bourbon, and especially Domenico Cavalca, whose *Vite de' Santi Padri* is the principal source of the Thebaid.

⁶³⁷ The ranks of the blessed on the left side of the Last Judgement scene are led, in the top row, by Adam and Eve, and in the second row by a very prominent kneeling intercessor, John the Baptist. The blessed look toward the Virgin and Christ who are enthroned in the upper part of the fresco flanked by the apostles and angels (V.4).

on the other hand, stands independently, beside the Last Judgement, equal to it in size and scale (V.2, V.5).⁶³⁸ According to Baschet, the shift to a large, independent scene of Hell alters the traditional power structure of the Last Judgement. In the absence of a separate scene of Paradise in the Campo Santo frescoes, Christ effectively confronts the enormous figure of Satan (twice the size of Christ) who dominates the Inferno.⁶³⁹ Christ's position as judge in the Campo Santo is further weakened by the presence of the Virgin in the Last Judgement, representing mercy, who is depicted on the same scale and plane as her son. In spite of the disjunction, however, between Last Judgement and Inferno, both scenes are surrounded by a single frame, in such a way as to contain Satan and his kingdom *within* the realm of the celestial powers, and to force them, symbolically as visually, to submit to a divine plan.⁶⁴⁰ The painter of the frescoes, Buffalmacco, would have been familiar with the marble pulpit carved by Giovanni Pisano (1302-1310), located in the adjacent cathedral of Pisa, where the Last Judgement scene is spread across two separate relief panels (III.13). But since the pulpit arrangement maintains the central position of Christ-judge, mediating between the blessed and damned, it may have been instead the Magdalen Chapel frescoes in Florence (IV.9, IV.10) which, since they place Christ and Satan in confrontation, provided the

⁶³⁸ This phenomenon was first noticed by OFFNER, IV, II (1960) 50, and the implications of the separation have been studied by J. BASCHET, "Triomphe de la mort, triomphe de l'enfer. Les fresques du Camposanto de Pise," *L'Ecrit Voir* 8 (1986) 5-17, pp.9-10; J. BASCHET, *Les justice de l'au-delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)* (Rome, 1993) 293-394 (= BASCHET 1993a).

⁶³⁹ BASCHET 1986, 9-10; BASCHET 1993a, 310.

⁶⁴⁰ BASCHET 1986, 10. The vertical border at the right edge of Inferno is visible in Fig. V.5.

inspiration for the Campo Santo cycle.

SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE, c.1330

A Triumph of Death cycle very similar to that in the Campo Santo once appeared on the right aisle (south) wall, of the Franciscan basilica of S.Croce in Florence. S.Croce was built during the period of Papal-Angevin-Guelf domination of Florence and at a time of particular Angevin devotion to the Franciscan order.⁶⁴¹ The cycle was covered over in the sixteenth century during Vasari's renovation program, but fragments discovered behind the fourth and fifth altars are now on display in the Museo dell'Opera.⁶⁴² The cycle began at the junction of the aisle wall and the *tramezzo*.⁶⁴³ According to the reconstruction published by Offner (V.8), the fresco was 18 metres long and 7.2 metres high; it was surrounded by a single border divided into three parts by

⁶⁴¹ The church was founded in 1295 and consecrated in 1442, but construction of the main body of the church was probably completed near the end of the Trecento. See below nn.651-654. Robert of Anjou and his queen, Sancia of Mallorca, were devoted to St Francis. See, for example, Robert's tomb, discussed above, Chapter II, n.376-378.

⁶⁴² OFFNER, IV, I, 43-44; G. KREYTENBERG, "L'Enfer d'Orcagna, la première peinture monumentale d'après les chants de Dante," *GBA* 114 (1989) 243-262, p.243.

⁶⁴³ The *tramezzo* is a loggia-type rood screen or *jubé* which served to separate the friars from the lay congregation. OFFNER, IV, I, 43-44, describes the position of the cycle as beginning around what would now be the centre-point of the present altarpiece in the fifth bay and extending west to the beginning of the monument to Machiavelli. For the *tramezzo*, see M.B. HALL, "The *tramezzo* in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *AB* 56 (1974) 325-341; M.B. HALL, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565-1577* (Oxford, 1979) Figs.2-4.

painted twisted columns.⁶⁴⁴ Surviving from the left side of the fresco is less than a third of the scene of the Triumph of Death; from the right, about half of the scene of the Inferno. Similarities with the Pisa frescoes support Vasari's testimony that a Last Judgement scene was in the central and largest section, now almost completely lost.⁶⁴⁵ According to Offner, fragments of apocalyptic imagery suggest that there might have been an Apocalyptic cycle in the frame surrounding the Triumph of Death cycle.⁶⁴⁶

Vasari's attribution of the S.Croce cycle to Andrea di Cione, known as Orcagna, has been generally accepted.⁶⁴⁷ The date, however, has never been ascertained, although it is believed by most scholars, again following Vasari, that the frescoes of the Campo Santo inspired those in S.Croce. Offner, Padoa Rizzo and Dal Poggetto date the S.Croce fragments after the Black Death of 1348, while Boskovits and Kreytenberg propose, for stylistic reasons, a date c.1345.⁶⁴⁸ Smart connects the Orcagna fresco with the eclipse of 1339 and the first

⁶⁴⁴ OFFNER, IV, I, 43-43, Pl.III; U. BALDINI, *Catalogo della II Mostra di Affreschi staccati* (Florence, 1958).

⁶⁴⁵ VASARI-BETTARINI, II Text, 220-221.

⁶⁴⁶ OFFNER, IV, I, 45-46. Among the fragments of the frame are episodes including an eclipse (Rev.6:12), an earthquake (Rev.6:12) and a plague of locusts (Rev.9:3).

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; VASARI-BETTARINI, II Text, 220-221.

⁶⁴⁸ OFFNER, IV, I, ix, and J. WHITE, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1987) 558-59, propose a date after 1360; A. PADOA RIZZO, "Per Andrea Orcagna pittore," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* s.3, 11, 3 (1981) 835-893, p.861, and P. DAL POGGETTO, "Andrea Orcagna," in *Omaggio a Giotto*, ex.cat. (Florence, 1967) 58-60, both relate the frescoes to the plague of 1348-1350; M. BOSKOVITS, "Orcagna in 1357 - and in other times," *BM* 113 (1971) 239-251, p.244, and KREYTENBERG, 243-262, p.243, both suggest a date c.1345, based on stylistic proximity to the Pisa frescoes.

plague outbreak of 1340, dating it shortly after these events.⁶⁴⁹ Only a few scholars place the S.Croce frescoes before those in Pisa, on stylistic grounds.⁶⁵⁰

The early history of S.Croce contributes some evidence towards the dating of these frescoes. The foundation stone for the expansion of S.Croce was laid in May 1295.⁶⁵¹ Construction of the east end had been completed by c.1310.⁶⁵² The nave was begun soon after but works continued until the end of the fourteenth century.⁶⁵³ While a consecration cross applied on fresh plaster over the painted frame of the fresco provides a *terminus ante quem* for the paintings, the reconsecration of the nave did not take place until 1442. It is known, however, that mass was celebrated in S.Croce by 1320 and that, with the

⁶⁴⁹ A. SMART, "Taddeo Gaddi, Orcagna, and the Eclipses of 1333 and 1339," in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, 2 vols., I. LAVIN & J. PLUMMER, eds. (New York, 1977), I, 403-414, p.413.

⁶⁵⁰ C. GNUDI, "Le Jugement Dernier, l'Enfer, Andrea Orcagna," in *L'Europe Gothique XII^e-XIV^e siècles*, ex.cat. (Paris, 1968) no.319, p.199, questions the precedence of the Pisan frescoes. M. & P. SKUBISZEWSKI, "The Poor in the Frescoes of the Campo Santo at Pisa and S.Croce in Florence," in *Essays Presented to Professor Lech Kalinowski* (Warsaw, 1986) 267-288, pp.283-284, place the S.Croce frescoes within a Franciscan framework and assign a date prior to the Campo Santo cycle.

⁶⁵¹ For the early history, F. MOISÈ, *S.Croce in Firenze* (Florence, 1845) 69-71; J.C. LONG, *Bardi Patronage at Santa Croce in Florence c.1320-1343*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1988, 10-16. G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, II, Lib.VIII, cap.VII, p.13, gives the date as 1294, but an inscription at the crossing of the right transept and the nave dates the foundation as 1295, which is now accepted by most scholars. R. DAVIDSOHN, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1896-1908) IV, 847.

⁶⁵² According to G. VILLANI, *Cronica*, II, Lib.VIII, cap.VII, p.13, building began at the east end, behind the old church, with the choir and transept chapels. Documents of 1310 suggest the roof had been completed by then.

⁶⁵³ LONG, 11-13.

assistance of the papacy, work proceeded quickly.⁶⁵⁴

Since the *tramezzo* was located in the fifth bay of S.Croce (V.9), Orcagna's fresco was situated about mid-way down the length of the aisle wall. Erection of the *tramezzo* was coeval with the portion of the nave which it traversed.⁶⁵⁵ Based on a surviving chapel design drawing and on an inventory of chapels in S.Croce from 1439, Hall has proposed that the Baroncelli St Martin chapel was one of the chapels located in the *tramezzo* and that it was constructed between 1332 and 1338.⁶⁵⁶ If she is correct, this would provide a *terminus ante quem* of 1332 for the construction of the right aisle wall on which the Triumph of Death cycle was painted.⁶⁵⁷

SECULARIZATION OF THE LAST JUDGEMENT

The shift in the moment of judgement to that of one's own death created a curiosity and urgency about one's own fate. By the 1330s the Last Judgement scene, a most sacred and iconic scene depicting events

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Matteo d'Aquasparta, Cardinal-Bishop of Porto, Minister-General of the Franciscan Order and papal legate to Tuscany, granted indulgences in 1296 and 1299 to all visitors to S.Croce and in 1298 granted indulgences to those who contributed to construction costs. In 1324 provision was made for a portion of Inquisitorial revenues to be placed at the disposal of S.Croce. DAVIDSOHN, *Forschungen*, IV, 487-8. For Cardinal d'Aquasparta's connection with the Orsini circle of patronage in Rome see Chapter I, p.84, nn.221-222.

⁶⁵⁵ HALL 1974, 332.

⁶⁵⁶ HALL 1974, esp.325 and 334; for the transcription of six different surviving versions of the *Inventory of Chapels*, see HALL 1979, Document I.

⁶⁵⁷ The aisle walls and nave arcade would have had to extend well past the location of the *tramezzo* and would have had to be roofed prior to construction of the chapels of the screen.

which are central to Christian dogma, had begun to show signs of contamination by profane images of contemporary and historical figures. Secularization of the Last Judgement scene had moved beyond the depiction of the donor at the foot of the cross to picturing contemporary enemies, enemies of the Church and the Guef party, suffering horrific torments in Hell. Baschet analyses the corpus of punishments in Hell using a typology based on his study of the literature of medieval visions and demonstrates how, in the Campo Santo fresco, the torments in Hell reach an unprecedented height of imagination and cruelty, and the enormous figure of Satan forms an axis around which torments appropriate to the sin committed are systematically disposed, each in its own compartment within a cavernous mountain landscape (V.5, V.6).⁶⁵⁸ Baschet follows convention in placing the S.Croce fresco cycle after the Campo Santo, and so considers the similar, although less vicious, punishments arranged around a central image of Satan as dependent on the Pisan fresco. According to Baschet, the punishments depicted in the Campo Santo are much more detailed and gruesome than in either earlier or later Last Judgement scenes, with a greater emphasis on cutting, gorging and amputating. Indeed, the flaying of the figure identified by inscription as Antichrist, in the upper right section of Inferno, is unique, and should probably be

⁶⁵⁸ BASCHET 1986, 5-8; BASCHET 1993a, 293-303. For vision literature in general see E.J. BECKER, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special Reference to the Middle English Versions* (Baltimore, 1899); E. GARDINER, ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York, 1989); D.D.R. OWEN, *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature* (Edinburgh, 1970); H.R. PATCH, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge MA, 1950); F.S. SMITH, *Secular and Sacred Visionaries in the Late Middle Ages* (New York-London, 1986); A. MORGAN, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge, 1990).

attributed to the invention of Buffalmacco.⁶⁵⁹ But in general, the extreme brutality of the Campo Santo frescoes is not an isolated case.

While the Inferno scene on the west wall of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence is badly damaged (IV.9), enough remains of the lower right corner to distinguish some very violent amputations. And enough remains to see that the composition of the Magdalen Chapel Inferno also compartmentalizes a variety of brutal torments surrounding an enormous figure of Satan within a rocky landscape (V.10).⁶⁶⁰ A fifteenth-century engraving of the Inferno at the Campo Santo which illustrates the former appearance of Satan, prior to several restorations (V.11), serves to demonstrate that Satan originally resembled to a much greater degree the corresponding figures in both the Magdalen Chapel and the S.Croce frescoes. The Magdalen Chapel's earlier date, c.1322, establishes it as a predecessor of both the S.Croce and Campo Santo frescoes in the separation and enlargement of Hell, in the compartmentalization of the brutal punishments of Hell, and in the depiction of a huge, muscular, horned and tricephalic Satan. Contrary to Baschet's view that the Campo Santo is the watershed monument in the course of the development of the Last Judgement, it is in the Magdalen Chapel, a Guelf civic palace in Florence, that these innovations first appear.

Yet another sign of secularization of the Last Judgement scene in the S.Croce and Campo Santo frescoes is the inclusion of inscriptions

⁶⁵⁹ BASCHET 1993a, 295-296.

⁶⁶⁰ BASCHET 1986, 9, compares the Satan of the Campo Santo frescoes to several other examples, including the Arena Chapel, to demonstrate that Buffalmacco's Satan is an unusually impressive giant. He fails to mention the Magdalen Chapel in this context. I have found no documentation on restorations to the west wall of the Magdalen Chapel.

which effectively address the viewer and involve him in the events depicted. It will be recalled that among the earliest revivals of the complete Last Judgement scene were those carved on pulpits made for preaching to large urban populations. The connection to preaching in the Campo Santo frescoes is evident, not only in the relation of the Thebaid to Dominican texts, but also in the speech scrolls, the *visibile parlare*, used throughout the Triumph of Death cycle.⁶⁶¹ The characters in the frescoes appear to preach directly to the viewer, for example, addressing the viewer as a participant in the Inferno scene as, "*o peccator*."⁶⁶² In both the Campo Santo and S.Croce frescoes inscriptions in the vernacular variously address the reader, "*o lettore*" and "*tu che mi guardi...*," implying either that most viewers were literate or that a preacher, or other intermediary, read the inscriptions as part of sermons to the congregation or procession. At S.Croce, the Triumph of Death cycle was located very near the pulpit which was atop the *tramezzo*.⁶⁶³ Preaching, however, is not an obvious function of the cemetery cloister of the Campo Santo; thus the use of speech scrolls and inscriptions to preach to the viewer suggest that the concept of the talking fresco may have substituted actual preaching, and may have been borrowed from S.Croce and adapted to give a quasi-liturgical

⁶⁶¹ Vasari describes how Buffalmacco taught his assistant at Pisa not only how to make figures seem alive but also to appear to recount stories: "...per insegnargli a fare le figure non pur vivaci ma che favellassono, gli fece far alcune parole che uscivano di bocca..." VASARI-BETTARINI, II, Testo, 171-172.

⁶⁶² For the speech scrolls in the Last Judgement and Inferno which preach to the viewer and identify topographic regions, for example, "*Qui si punisce il peccato della gola*," see POLZER 1989, 363.

⁶⁶³ HALL 1974, 339.

function to the frescoes in the cemetery cloister.⁶⁶⁴

The groups of figures representing the poor and infirm who call out to Death for relief are nearly identical in the frescoes of both S.Croce and the Campo Santo (V.12, V.13).⁶⁶⁵ Another type of profane inscription also appears in both frescoes. Of the missing Last Judgement section of the S.Croce triptych, four small fragments remain along the edge of the fictive cosmatesque twisted column which separates it from the scene of Inferno (V.14). One of those fragments depicts a demon who stands, *contrapposto*, staring directly at (or through) the rocky wall behind the column (V.15), indicating a passage through a crevice into Hell.⁶⁶⁶ A large bird of prey, perched on a ledge above the demon, crows the same warning which faces Dante as he enters Inferno: "Lasciate ogni speranza...." (Inf.3:9). Oddly, the inscription appears in

⁶⁶⁴ On the other hand, the use of *visibile parlare* in paintings may have been adopted as a means to transpose the extended vernacular speech characteristic of French romance literature, from which the Triumph of Death image derives, into a visual medium. Speech scrolls appear in the earliest Italian frescoes of the French theme of the Meeting of the Three Living and Three Dead at Atri Cathedral, c.1270-80 and at S.Maria di Vezzolano, c.1300. See POLZER 1989, n.32; and above n.635.

⁶⁶⁵ The lame address the personification of Death directly with identical pleas for release from pain: "Dacche prosperitade cia lasciati / Morte, medicina d'ogni pena / Deh vienci a darne omai l'ultima cena." Part of the inscription in S.Croce has been lost but the remaining words are identical to those at Pisa, apart from some very slight variations in lettering and spelling. Although that part of the painting above the group of infirm is lost at S.Croce, the similarity of the figures and the inscriptions at both S.Croce and Campo Santo suggest that the personification of Death was also depicted in S.Croce.

⁶⁶⁶ KREYTENBERG, 248, mentions the hidden entrance crevice only in the context of his discussion of the fragments on the right side of the column, where the passage opens into the first cavity of Hell. The concept of the passage is developed further in the Strozzi Chapel in S.Maria Novella, c.1355, where Heaven and Hell flank the Last Judgement on three separate walls and a hidden passage allows the movement of angels and demons between the three scenes.

reverse image, legible to the spectator only with a mirror (V.16). Because the words are inscribed parallel to the entrance crevice, they are certainly meant to be read correctly by those *behind* the letters, that is, those souls condemned at the Last Judgement to pass through this crevice into Hell. The warning of the bird is written across the *stemma* of a now lost figure, who, theoretically, would have been able to read the words as he proceeded towards his fate. That *stemma*, or crest, displays a stylized eagle, a variation on the squawking bird of prey and a symbol of the German emperors and the Ghibelline party.⁶⁶⁷ At Pisa, in the Campo Santo fresco, the same warning is announced by a demon with bird's claws and wings, who leans out over the rocky ledge from Inferno into the scene of the Last Judgement (V.17). The speech scroll, however, is barely visible, but it seems likely that the words were written in reverse.⁶⁶⁸ The winged demon is more clearly visible in the *sinopia* of the scene which, however, has no inscriptions (V.18). These inscriptions in reverse represent further evidence for the secularization of the scene, in that the condemned to whom the words are addressed, are enemies of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance and, at the same time, are contemporary citizens who would presumably be familiar with Dante's poem.

These signs of secularization of the Last Judgement suggest that the Campo Santo frescoes were dependent on those of S.Croce. The

⁶⁶⁷ O. NEUBECKER, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (New York, 1976) 105, 125-126, explains that the eagle was the symbol of the ancient Roman empire, revived by Charlemagne as a symbol of world dominion, and used ever after on the coat of arms of the emperors.

⁶⁶⁸ POLZER, 1989, 363, mentions the warning inscription but does not specify the direction of the lettering, although he notes that the speech scroll extending from Cain in the Last Judgement scene is written in reverse.

visibile parlare is perhaps more likely connected to the preaching function of S.Croce than to the funerary context of the Campo Santo and so may suggest adaptation from Florence. But the inscription, "Lasciate ogni speranza," borrowed from a Florentine poem and written in reverse over an imperial eagle, must almost certainly have a Florentine origin. The resemblance of the fifteenth-century engraving of Buffalmacco's Satan to the figures of Satan in S.Croce and the Magdalen Chapel, combined with the similar compartmentalization and brutality of punishments in Hell in all three frescoes, suggest 1) that the S.Croce and Campo Santo frescoes both borrowed heavily from the Magdalen Chapel, and 2) that it is also likely that the S.Croce frescoes, being in a Franciscan church in Papal-Angevin-Guelf Florence, were first to imitate the Magdalen Chapel.⁶⁶⁹ Not only is this significant for the precedence of S.Croce over the Campo Santo, but it also suggests that the inspiration for the composition of Inferno in the Campo Santo fresco and the separation of Inferno from the Last Judgement in both S.Croce and Campo Santo, probably came from the Magdalen Chapel, a chapel of a civic building in a Guelf city dominated by the Angevin monarchy. And finally, returning to Archbishop Saltarelli, the fact that Saltarelli, upon his return from exile in Florence,⁶⁷⁰ commissioned the Campo Santo frescoes to reconcile Pisa with Florentine pro-papal interests implies that he may have imitated, and adapted to the

⁶⁶⁹ It should be remembered here that the revival of narrative painting was due, in the first place, to the Franciscan desire to make the Passion of Christ tangible to the faithful. A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996) 16-24.

⁶⁷⁰ LUZZATI, 1655, who also notes on pp.1648-50, that throughout his episcopacy Saltarelli's entourage was predominantly Florentine.

Dominican ideal, a model already in existence in one of the largest Florentine churches, S.Croce.

CONCLUSIONS

There are two separate, yet interwoven, aspects to this study. From the outset the research was intended to trace the iconographic developments of the Last Judgement scene in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century mural paintings in Lazio and Tuscany and the results of that investigation are presented here more-or-less chronologically. The *filo rosso* which then connects the fourteenth-century monuments is my hypothesis that the wide-spread revival of the Last Judgement scene reflects not only the new theology regarding the fate of the soul, but also the political and economic alliance between the papacy, the Angevin monarchs, and the Guelf Party, particularly during the reign of Robert of Anjou (1309-43). In summing up my arguments I shall continue to interweave both aspects. Throughout the dissertation attention has been paid to establishing the dates of the monuments. This has allowed me to trace a genealogy of the Last Judgment scene along different iconographical branches: for example, the Roman tradition, the Early Tuscan Last Judgement, those located over the altar, those in which Heaven and/or Hell are separated from the Last Judgement. Establishing the date has been vital, for example, to my discussion of the Magdalen Chapel, which had been consigned to oblivion due to its on-and-off relationship with Giotto. That relationship is now open to investigation, now that the dating establishes the possibility of Giotto's

authorship of the frescoes.

Two striking events mark the evolution of the Late Medieval Last Judgement scene in Central Italy: first, the revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement after a period of contraction, and second, the separation of Heaven and, particularly, Hell from the Last Judgement scene. Both of these features reflect an increasing anxiety about the fate of the soul in the afterlife; a fate which, by the end of the thirteenth century, had moved from the end of time itself to the moment of an individual's death.

Why the rich visual tradition of the Last Judgement scene of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries was interrupted in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and its iconography abbreviated at a time when the papacy was augmenting its judiciary role, as the surviving evidence seems to indicate, has never been explained. I would suggest that, with the introduction of annual confession and penance, which became obligatory at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215,⁶⁷¹ the

⁶⁷¹ Almost certainly this reform had begun some time before it became official doctrine. Theological issues and religious practices which became papal doctrine circulated in some form prior to official proclamation. For example, the eternal damnation of the sinner is officially placed at the moment of death by Gregory X in 1274:illorum autem animas, qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas...., see above Chapter II, n.307. But a fresco depicting the torments which befall a sinner as his soul leaves his body already appears in 1263 in the Oratory of S.Pellegrino at Bominaco in Abruzzo. For Gregory's declaration see Chapter III, n.442; for Bominaco see J. BASCHET, *Lieu sacré. Lieu d'images. Les fresques de Bominaco (abruzzes, 1263): thèmes, parcours, fonctions*, L'images à l'appui 5 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991). It has been shown that the concept of Transubstantiation was being debated by theologians before it became doctrine in 1215. See Chapter I, nn.86-87. For the process of making and disseminating doctrine see A. BERNSTEIN, "The Invocation of Hell in Thirteenth-Century Paris," in *Supplementum festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, J. HANKINS ET AL., eds. (New York, 1987) 13-54.

potential for arriving in Hell was seen to have been reduced, and that the emphasis in Last Judgement scenes produced in that period was indeed on the act of judgement rather than on the fate of those judged. In any case, the Roman tradition suggests that thirteenth-century Last Judgement scenes in Rome and Lazio were produced under ecclesiastical patronage, in an abbreviated form, and that the revival of the 'complete' Last Judgement corresponds with the arrival in Italy of French popes and cardinals and the Angevin monarchy.⁶⁷² Stefano Conti, patron of the abbreviated Last Judgement scene in the S.Silvestro Chapel (1246), was a papal arbitrator and judge. Evidence suggests that the Apostles of the condensed Last Judgement scene in S.Nicola at Filettino (c.1220-30) were also produced under papal or curial patronage. S.Cecilia's Last Judgement scene is the result of the patronage of a French cardinal, Jean Cholet, and the design of a Roman artist, Pietro Cavallini, who had trained in the restoration of the Early Christian frescoes at S.Paolo fuori le mura, thus combining ancient painting practices and French Gothic iconography. In Chapter I Cavallini is shown to have operated within a circle of curial patronage, within which each member had political ties to the Angevin monarchy. Cardinal Jean Cholet's choice of a Last Judgement scene for the west wall of S.Cecilia in Trastevere (1293) may have been conditioned by his activities as a papal arbitrator and judge; the Gothic style and iconography, and the expansion to a complete Last Judgement scene in S.Cecilia, were certainly conditioned by his French origins. The likely patron of the complete Last Judgement scene in S.Maria in Vescovio (c.1293-97), cardinal Gerardo Bianchi, was

⁶⁷² See Chapter I.

also a papal arbitrator with strong ties to the Angevins, who chose to follow Cavallini's model, rather than the abbreviated form of the Last Judgement known to him from his beloved Baptistery of Parma.

From the surviving evidence, it appears that the revival of the complete Last Judgement scene may have begun even earlier in Tuscany in the medium of sculpture, although it is possible that the Tuscan examples followed earlier Roman prototypes, now lost. In Tuscany, however, the impetus seems to have been the Franciscan insistence on imagining the physical suffering of the saints,⁶⁷³ and in this case, also the sinners. The earliest surviving example is a relief sculpture in a New Testament cycle on the pulpit of the Pisa Baptistery, carved by Nicola Pisano in 1260, during the period of Ghibelline domination. According to John White, the Last Judgement was the last scene on the pulpit to be executed and it shows some signs of French Gothic influence, particularly in the figure of Christ-Judge.⁶⁷⁴ Nicola was contracted in 1265 to produce another pulpit, this time in Siena, also a powerful Ghibelline city. On the Siena Cathedral pulpit the complete Last Judgement extends over two panels of the pulpit and Christ sits enthroned above a large cross dividing the two sections (III.8). Clearly, the adoption of the expanded Last Judgement formula and French Gothic style in Tuscany was not initially connected to the Papal-Angevin-Guelf

⁶⁷³ A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996) 18-19.

⁶⁷⁴ Christ-Judge resembles the trumeau figures of Le Beau Dieu at Chartres and Amiens Cathedrals. J. WHITE, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1987 [1966]) 81.

alliance. By the time of the completion of the Siena pulpit in 1268,⁶⁷⁵ however, the Papal-Angevin-Guelf regime was taking a firm hold on Tuscany and numerous building projects in the wake of victory provided opportunities for the regime to align itself with a potent image.

The Florence Baptistery, dedicated to the patron saint of Florence, John the Baptist, where an ambitious program of mosaics for the interior was meant to compete with the elaborate programs of Rome and Venice, provided a major civic focus in Florence and symbolized Florence's Guelf power and identity. A Last Judgement scene had already been planned in the 1250s for the cupola mosaics, but modifications to the design and the commencement of work came only after final defeat of the Ghibellines in 1268. The Florentine *podesteria* of Charles of Anjou for thirteen years after 1267, and the administration of the Baptistery by the Church and the pro-Papal-Guelf Arte di Calimala, whose members included the bankers to the Angevin kingdom, establish a set of circumstances favorable to the promotion of political ideology in the decoration of a symbolic public building. As Christ's vicar, the pope had a natural association with the Last Judgement scene. As papal vicar, peace-broker in the Guelf-Ghibelline strife, and *podest* of Florence, Charles of Anjou was thus judge of all matters temporal and so also had a legitimate, albeit secular, claim to Last Judgement iconography. Granted, there was only scaffolding to be seen in Charles' lifetime. Nevertheless, I doubt that the association was missed by those involved in the planning of

⁶⁷⁵ Sienese bankers were already converting to Guelfism by 1268 in order to survive. The Commune resisted until 1271 when the Guelf Party seized power. W. BOWSKY, *A Medieval Italian Commune: Siena under the Nine, 1287-1355* (Berkeley-London, 1981) 35-36.

both the mosaics and the peace tribunal. And I suggest that, increasingly as the glittering image of Christ-Judge slowly emerged, the citizens of Florence associated this image of power and justice with the political alliance that had brought them such prosperity.

An 'Early Tuscan' Last Judgement scene, comprising a group of eight images, including the Pisano pulpits and Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel in Padua (c.1305), can be defined by three particular innovations: the prominent, large cross beneath the throne of Christ, the intercession of the Virgin among the blessed, and the penitent patron kneeling at the foot of the cross. These features serve to illustrate the dependence of the fresco in S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania (c.1320) on Giotto's Last Judgement in the Arena Chapel in Padua.⁶⁷⁶ The Tuscania fresco is also related to another group of Last Judgement scenes, including the Florence Baptistery mosaic (c.1271-1330), which have in common their location over or behind the high altar in imitation of the eleventh-century mosaics, now lost, in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The appearance in a Last Judgement scene of the Old Testament patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, is another iconographical feature which is shared by several monuments including the Florence Baptistery and the fresco in S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples (c.1317-1323). Since the presence of the patriarchs is interpreted as the final resting place of the soul after the Second Coming of Christ at the Last Judgement, the 1331-34 controversy over the Beatific Vision, which

⁶⁷⁶ The large cross appears on all eight members of this group of Last Judgement scenes. The depiction of the Virgin interceding directly among the blessed appears on two of the Pisano pulpits and in the frescoes of the Arena Chapel and S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania. The kneeling patron appears only in the frescoes of the Arena Chapel and S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania. See Chapter III.

transformed belief in judgement at the end of time into heresy, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the completion of both the Baptistery mosaics and the Donnaregina fresco, although I have suggested an earlier completion date for the Neapolitan fresco based on additional technical evidence.

While in some cases the available evidence for patronage or political context does not directly connect the monuments with the Angevin monarchy, the accumulated effect of the evidence is highly suggestive of political propaganda. Enrico Scrovegni's choice of a Last Judgement scene for the Arena Chapel, while appropriate to the funerary nature of the chapel and to his public repentance for his sins, may also reflect his earlier association with Pope Benedict XI (1303-4) and the Guelf Party: Scrovegni's sins were absolved in return for promoting the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance with a monumental Last Judgement scene in his church to which visitors were lured with the promise of indulgences. Similarly, at S.Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, circumstantial evidence suggests that the Last Judgement scene was commissioned during a period of Guelf domination. The dependence of the Last Judgement in Tuscania on Giotto's fresco in Padua, and Giotto's activity within a Papal-Angevin-Guelf circle of patronage support both cases.

The frescoes of the Magdalen Chapel in Florence (c.1322) are central to both the iconographical and the political arguments in this study. Iconographically, the first instance of separate, independent images of Heaven and Hell is found here. Whether or not there was ever a scene of the Last Judgement on the west wall above the image of Hell does not affect the implicit understanding of 'judgement' within the

context of the chapel's function as the *Cappella del Podestà* where those condemned to death received their last rites. Later in Florence and Pisa, the separation of Hell from the Last Judgement, and its appearance beside, and on the same scale as, the Last Judgement, is a striking feature of the Triumph of Death cycles in S.Croce (c.1330), and the Campo Santo (c.1330). The separation and enlargement of Hell, and Heaven, reflects the increasing focus on personal damnation or salvation at the moment of death, suddenly imminent after centuries of believing judgement would come at the end of time. The Last Judgement scene, for so long an iconic image of remote events, becomes in this period an event in which individuals sense, and visualize, their own participation. Thus, donors appear, not in minute scale on the margins of the image, but boldly amidst the scene of judgement, at the foot of the cross and on a scale equal to that of the Virgin or Christ, and they depict themselves within the ranks of the blessed. Inscriptions directly address the viewers as participants in the drama. With the participation of the donor, the viewer, and contemporary personages, the Last Judgement becomes increasingly secularized.

Secularization of the Last Judgement occurred, not only due to changing religious beliefs and practices, but also because the scene came to be associated with a political regime. What I have attempted to demonstrate in these chapters is that from 1266 on, the triumph of the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance in Tuscany was paralleled with the Triumph of Christ. While the evidence is scant for the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, during Robert's reign sermons praising all three Angevin kings make direct reference to their prudent and compassionate counsel

and their wise judgement in the tradition of King Solomon.⁶⁷⁷ The sermons and praise poems also parallel the role of the Angevin kings, as judges of temporal matters in the service of the papacy, with Christ's role at the right hand of God. I have suggested that the appearance of the Triumph of Death cycle in the Campo Santo in Pisa, so closely related to the cycle in S.Croce in Florence, might be another example of the Last Judgement used as an emblem of the triumph of Papal-Angevin-Guelf politics after a revival of Ghibellinism had been quelled.

Clearly the Angevins' judicial role in Tuscany and Lazio was not solely responsible for the revival and expansion of the Last Judgement scene. But I have emphasized it in this thesis because the cultural influence of the Angevins in Central Italy is a factor which has never been seriously addressed. The thread that has tied the individual monuments together is their connections, at times admittedly tenuous, with the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance. A valid objection may be made that nearly all of Lazio and Tuscany was governed by this alliance and that any painting produced in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century might be considered emblematic of the ruling regime. Even so, Angevin iconography, in works such as the statue of Charles I on the Capitoline in Rome or the tomb of Robert in S.Chiara in Naples, repeatedly represents the king enthroned with the trappings of royalty in the tradition of Solomon and Charlemagne. The iconography of sacral-kingship has a long tradition of paralleling that of Christ-Judge. What imbues these images with more than the traditional imperial significance are several direct references to the Last Judgement scene in the

⁶⁷⁷ See Chapter II.

sermons dedicated to the Angevin kings which demonstrate that, by the fourteenth century, many supporters, as well as the Angevins themselves, associated the Angevin kings with Christ of the Last Judgement. Secondly, had the revival of the Last Judgement been only due to theological changes in the thirteenth century the secularization of the Last Judgement scene would not have been as dramatic. The secularization of traditionally sacred scenes in the fifteenth century has been connected to court painting and the taste of autocratic ruler-patrons for seeing themselves and their friends depicted in religious and secular scenes in the decorative programs surrounding them. It will be recalled that an unidentified king and queen among the blessed in the Last Judgement at S.Maria Donnaregina might represent Charles II and Maria of Hungary and may thus provides us with the first instance of contemporary figures or patrons within a Last Judgement scene. The earliest depiction of secular personages in Paradise occur in the Magdalen Chapel, and in Hell in the Florence Baptistery; both are monuments with more than a passing Angevin connection.

This brings us back to the separation of Heaven and Hell from the Last Judgement, which first appeared in the Magdalen Chapel in a civic building in Florence controlled by the Angevins. An earlier suggestion of such a separation can be found in S.Maria Donnaregina in Naples, where the Last Judgement is divided into three segments by the tall lancet windows, thus separating Christ-Judge from Heaven and Hell. So, the introduction of contemporary characters as participants in the Last Judgement and the first hint of separation both came from a court painting in Naples, and both events played significant roles in the secularization of the Last Judgement scene.

The dissertation promises several avenues for future research. I plan to continue my study of the Bargello to include a reconstruction of the building chronology of the palace and an investigation into the significance of location, iconography, function and audience of the few remaining original Trecento frescoes, including a closer study of those in the Magdalen Chapel. Intrigued by the original location of the Last Judgement in S.Croce in Florence at the juncture of the nave wall and the *tramezzo*, I would like to investigate the decorative programs that coincide with the segregation of male/female, elite/non-elite and religious/lay audiences. I would like to consider the nature of artist-patron relations at the Angevin court, the so-far-unacknowledged presence of Spanish artists at court, and the artistic implications of the connections between Spiritual Franciscans and the royal courts of Naples, Barcelona and Mallorca in light of the Angevin marriages with the Houses of Aragon and Mallorca.

My dissertation contributes to Art Historical scholarship by recontextualizing the iconography and development of a major theme in Christian art of the Late Middle Ages in Italy. It also challenges traditional iconographic studies by investigating multi-disciplinary sources to establish the context in which the scene proliferated. In writing the thesis, I have introduced the Papal-Angevin-Guelf alliance as a determining force behind (and behind-the-scenes of) the decoration of Central Italian monuments with a major civic or public focus. This presents an opportunity in future research to consider the decoration of Central Italian civic monuments from the perspective of a possible canon of Papal-Angevin-Guelf propagandistic decoration.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AB</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>APARA Rendiconti</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti</i>
<i>ASF</i>	<i>Archivio di Stato di Firenze</i>
<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archivio Storico Italiano</i>
<i>ASRSP</i>	<i>Archivio della Real Società Romana di Storia Patria</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
<i>BAV</i>	<i>Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Française d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>BL</i>	<i>The British Library</i>
<i>BM</i>	<i>The Burlington Magazine</i>
<i>CEFR</i>	<i>Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> (Rome:Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960-1995)
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gazette de Beaux-Arts</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>MEFRM</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Âge</i>
<i>MKhIF</i>	<i>Mitteilung des Kunsthistorisches Institut von Florenz</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>RACAR</i>	<i>Revue de l'Art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review</i>
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento</i> , L.A. MURATORI, ed., 33 vols. (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900-1903; Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1906-1931)
<i>ZfKg</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte</i>

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ASF, *Capitoli del Comune*, Reg.23.

ASF, *Libri fabarum*, XV.

ASF, *Provvisioni*, Reg. 6, 15, 17, 28.

BL, Ms.Bibl.Reg.6.E.IX. *Convenevoli de Pratis Poemata*, Roberto Regi Neapoli Dicata.

BAV, Cod.Vat.Lat.6781. *Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis Fratris Eremitae Augustiniani De Ecclesiis [sic] Urbis Romae*.

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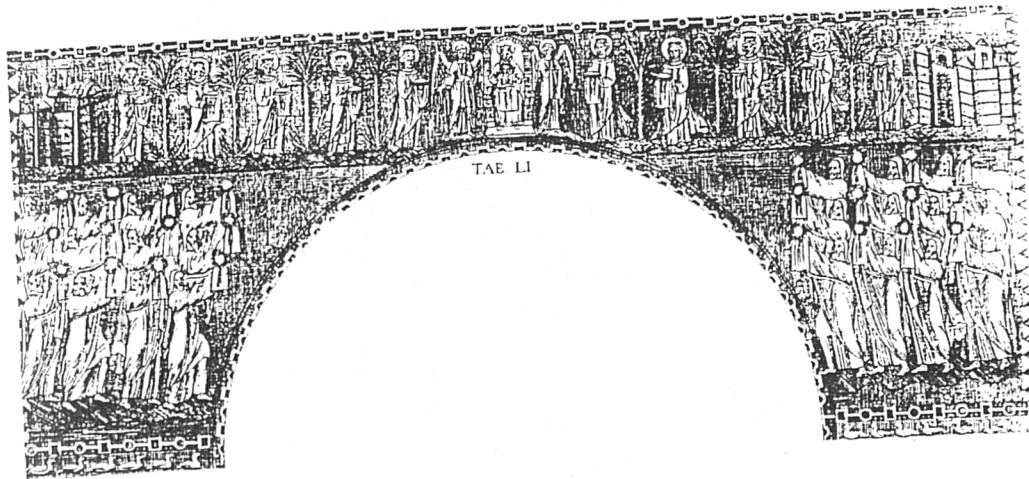
ILLUSTRATIONS



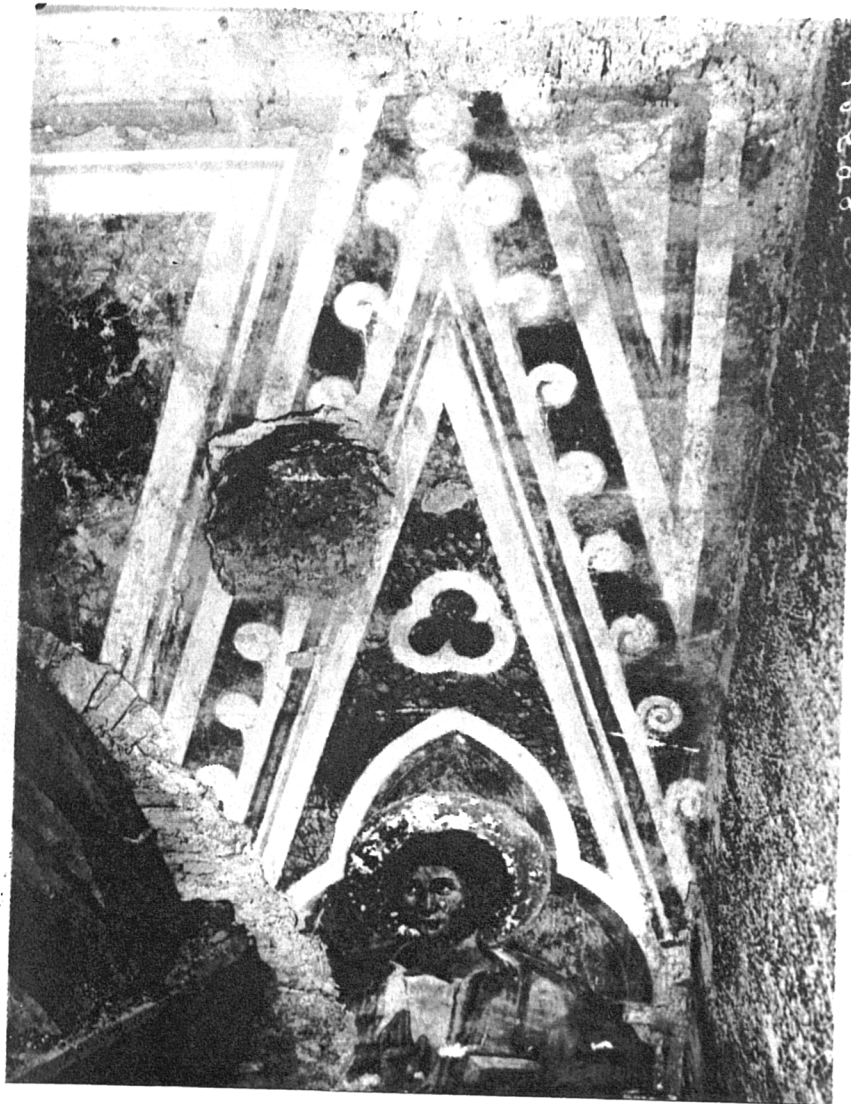
I.1 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Apse Mosaic and *Ciborio*



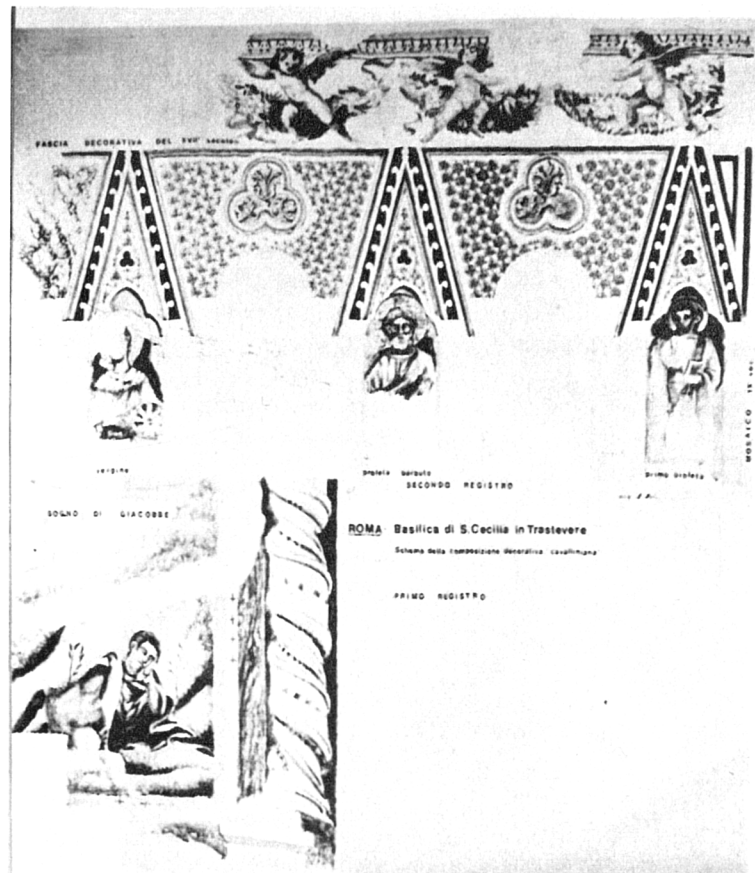
I.2 Rome, S.Prassede, Apse and Apsidal Arch Mosaic



I.3 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, 17th-Century Engraving of Apsidal Arch by Ciampini



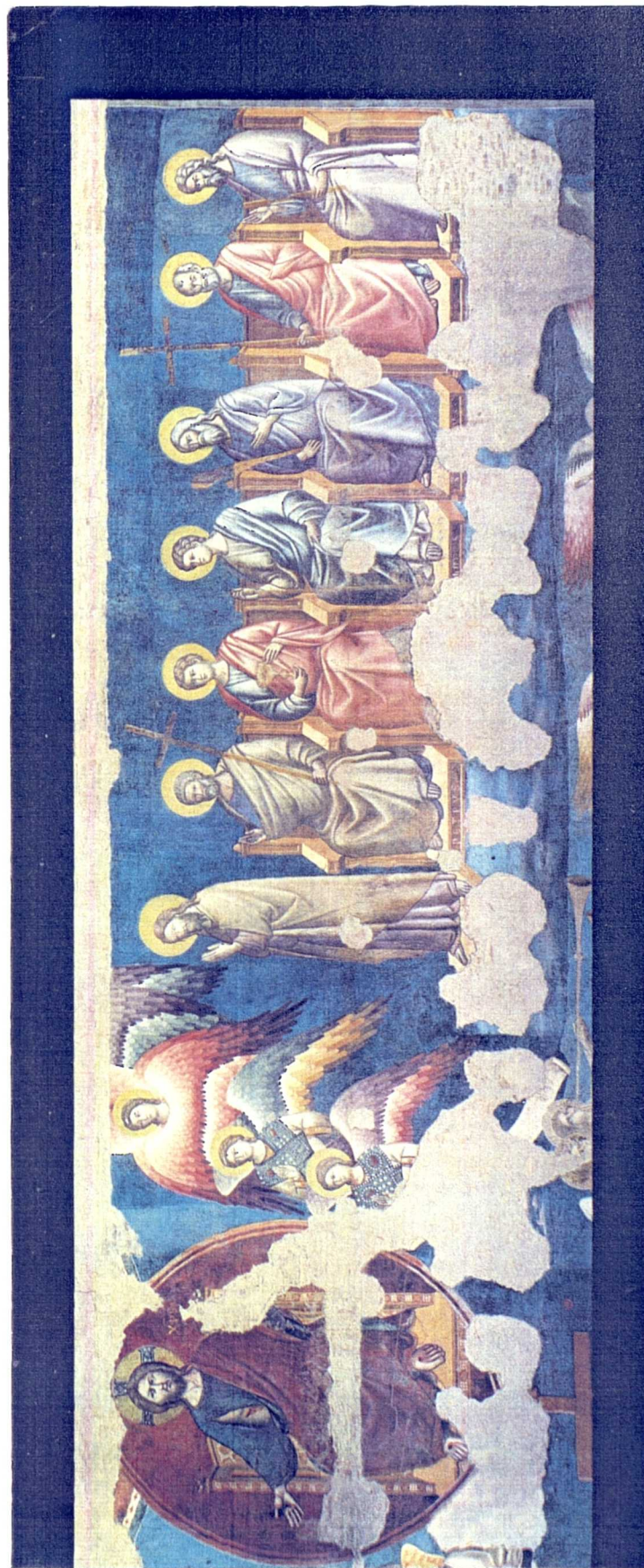
I.4 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Fresco at Clerestory



I.5 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Schema of Clerestory Decoration
(after Romanini)



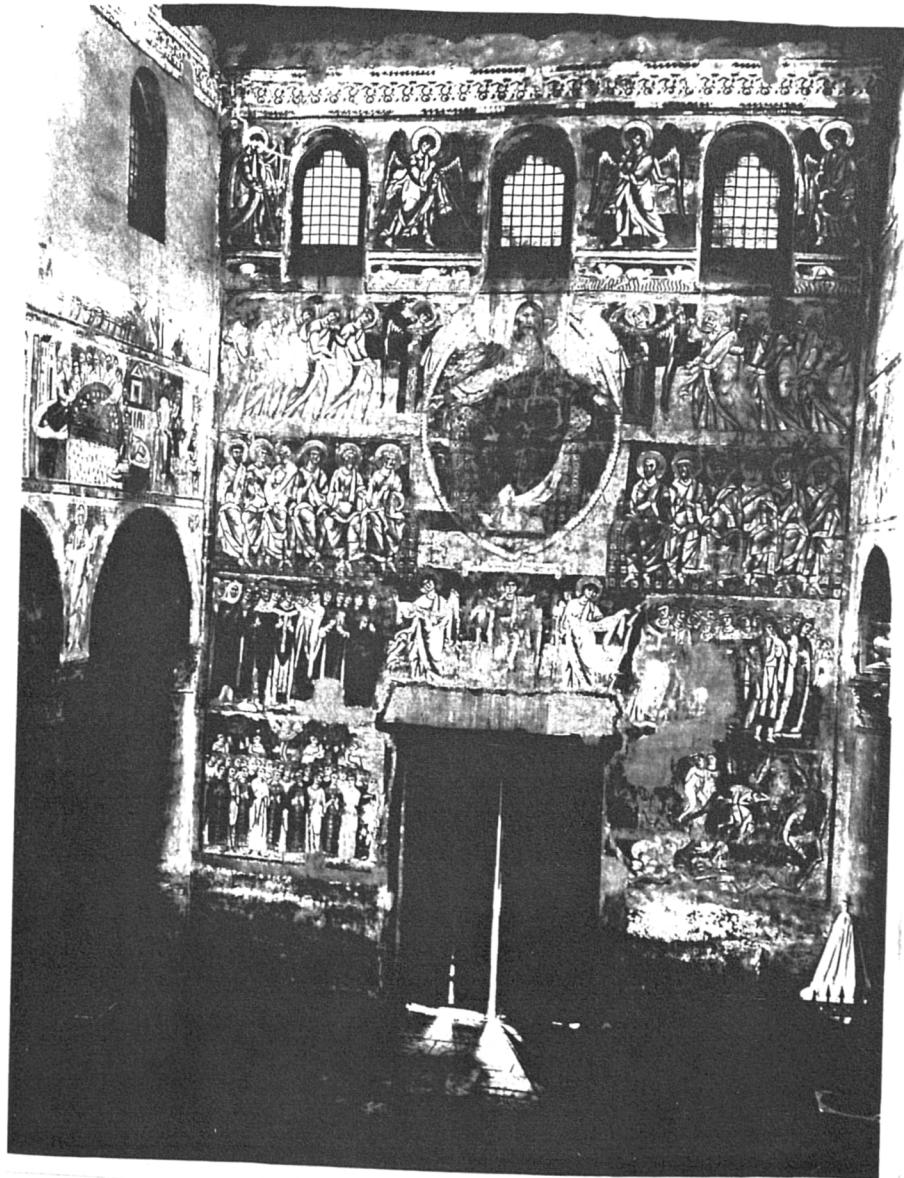
I.6 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement, Left Side



I.7 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement, Right Side



I.8 Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Barb.Lat.4406, Drawing of 13th-Century
Fresco formerly in S.Paolo fuori le mura



I.9 Sant'Angelo in Formis, Last Judgement



I.10 Musei Vaticani, Inv.n.526, Panel, Last Judgement



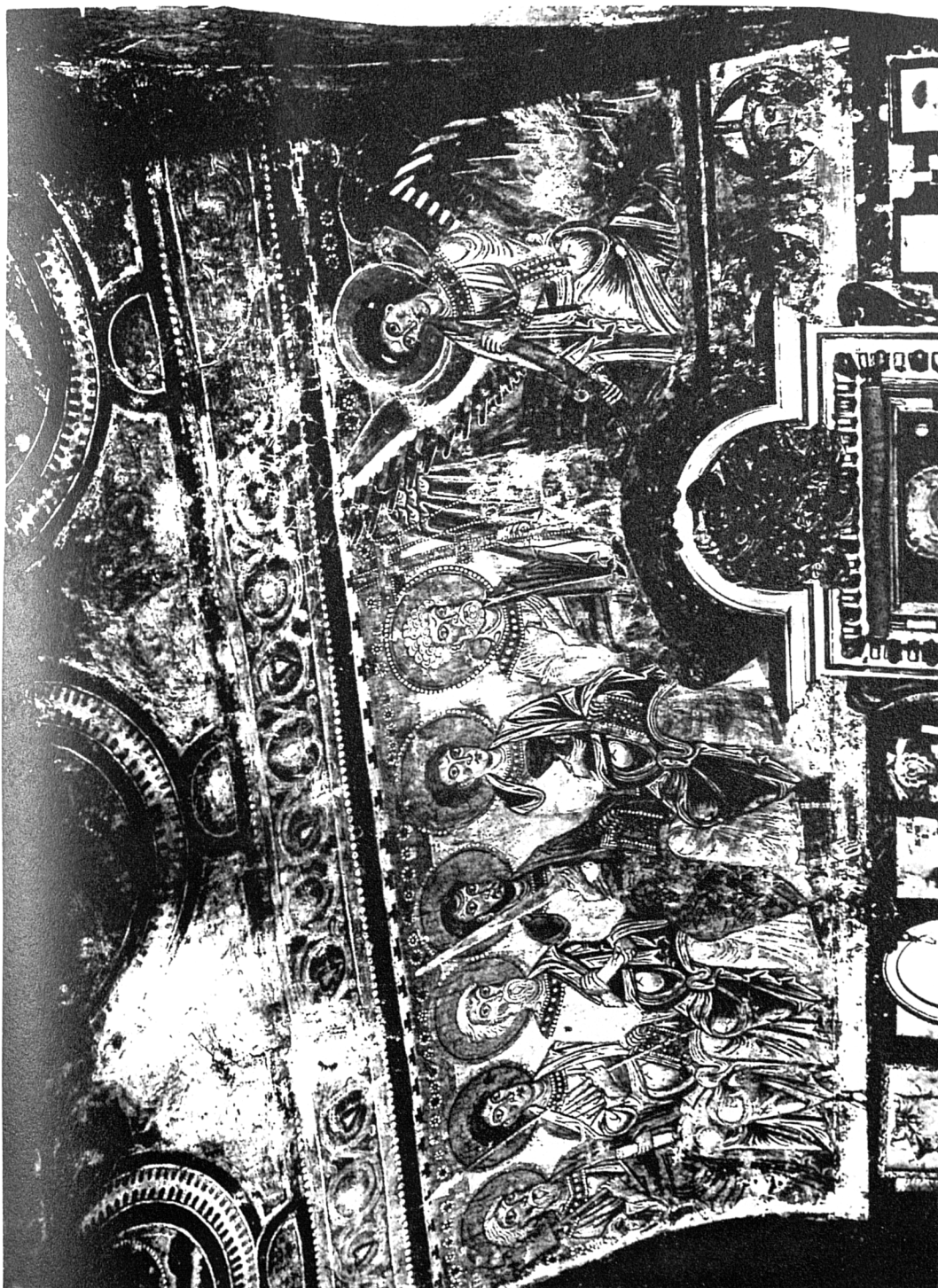
I.11 Ceri, S.Maria Immacolata, Last Judgement



I.12 Rome, S.Giovanni a Porta Latina, Last Judgement



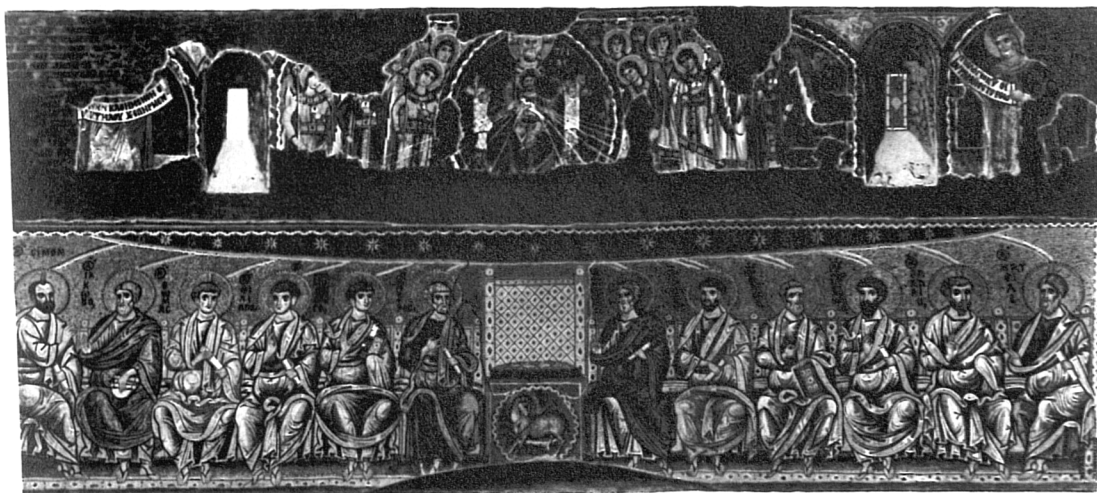
I.13 Filettino, S.Nicola, Archangels



I.14 Filettino, S.Nicola, North Wall, Apostles



I.15 Filettino, S.Nicola, South Wall, Apostles



I.16 Grottaferrata, S.Maria di Grottaferrata, Chancel Arch, Mosaic,
Pentecost



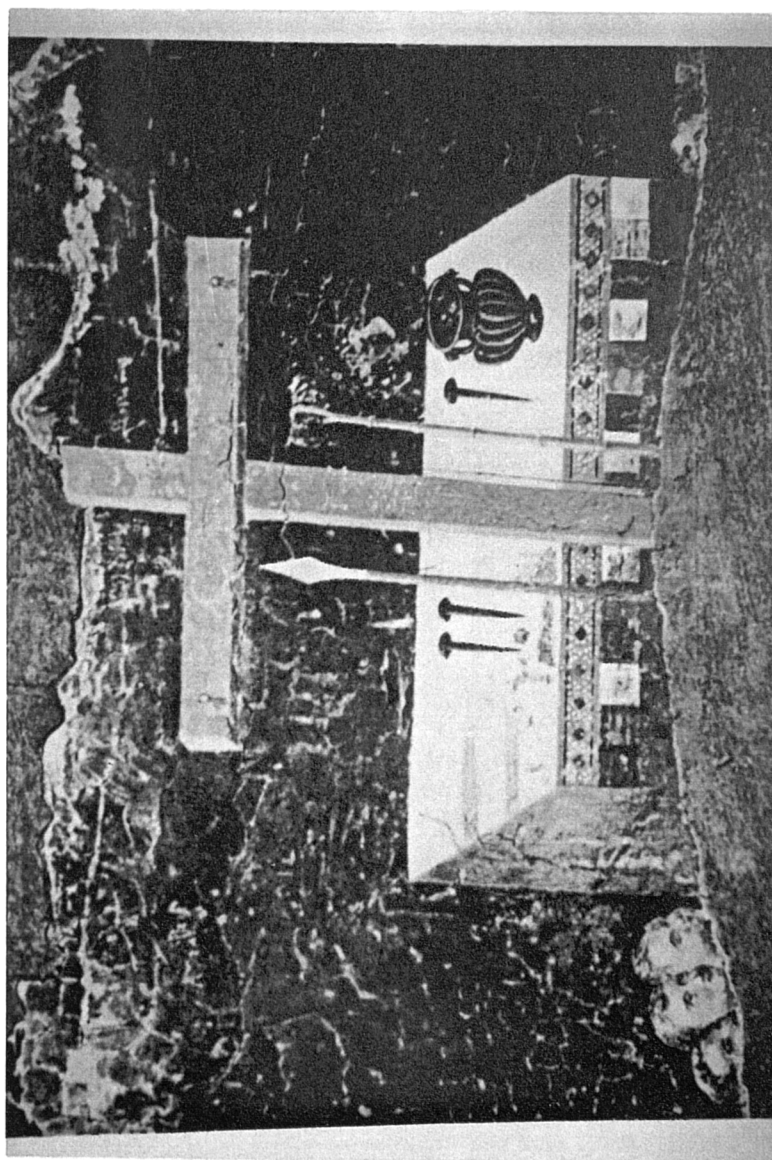
I.17 Filettino, S.Nicola, Detail of I.14, St Peter



I.18 Rome, St Peter's Basilica, Bronze Statue of St Peter, Detail



I.19 Rome, S.Silvestro Chapel, Last Judgement



I.20 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement, Altar beneath Christ



I.21 Anagni, Cathedral Crypt, Opening of the Fifth Seal



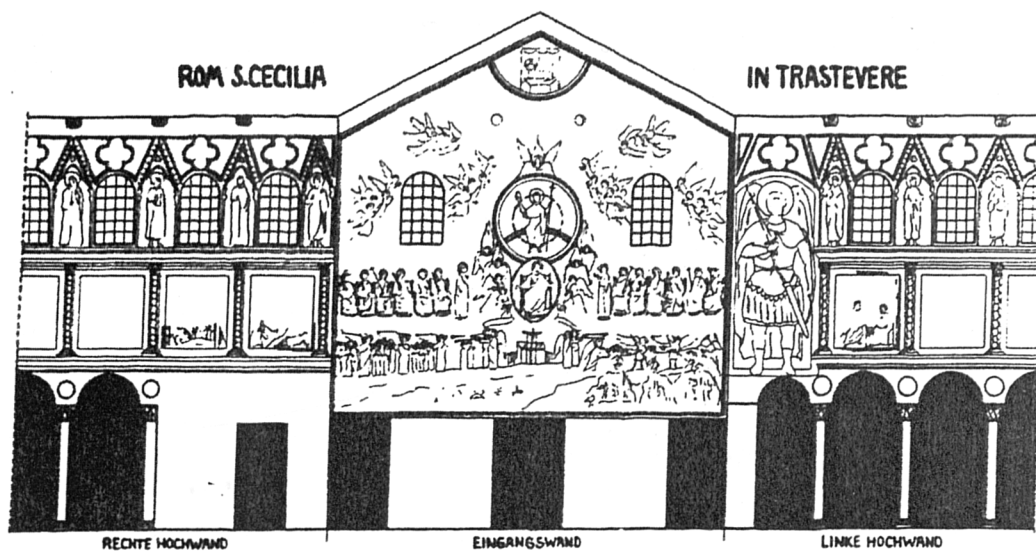
I.22 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement,
St Stephen and St Lawrence



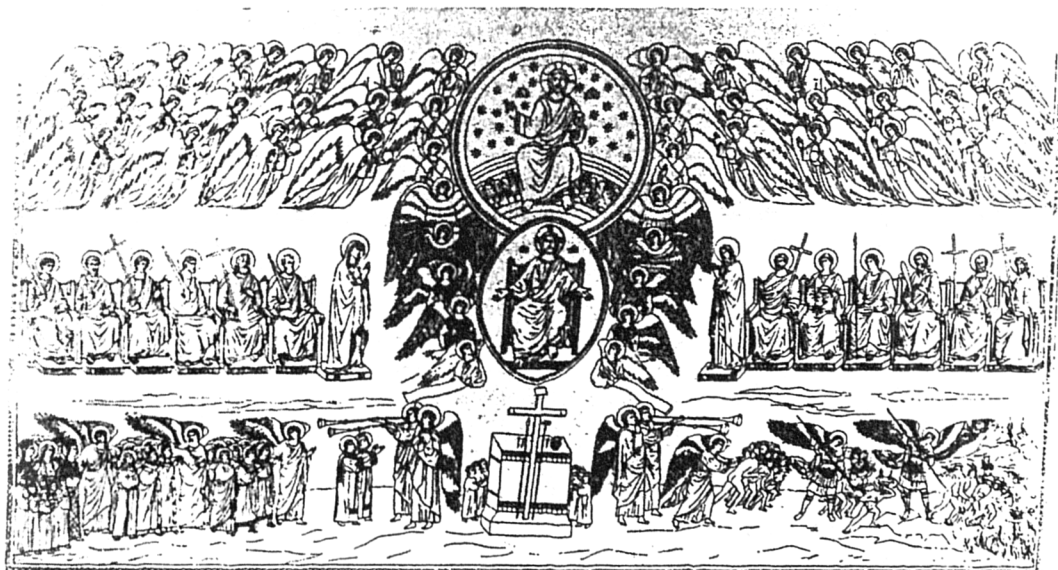
I.23 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement,
St Andrew



I.24 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Last Judgement, Christ



A



B

I.25 Reconstructions of Cavallini's Last Judgment by Paeseler (A) and Wilpert (B)



I.26 Rome, S.Cecilia in Trastevere, Cavallini, Detail of I.6, Angels



I.27 Sabina, S.Maria in Vescovio, Last Judgement



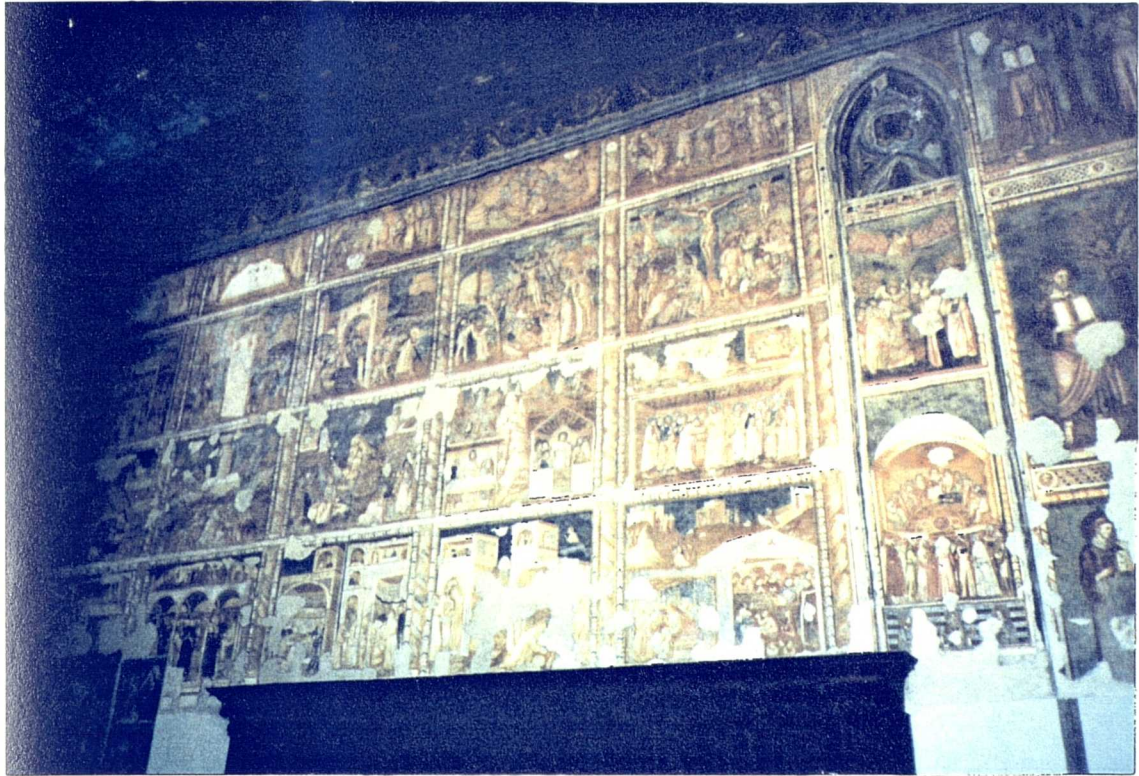
I.28 Sabina, S.Maria in Vescovio, Detail of I.27



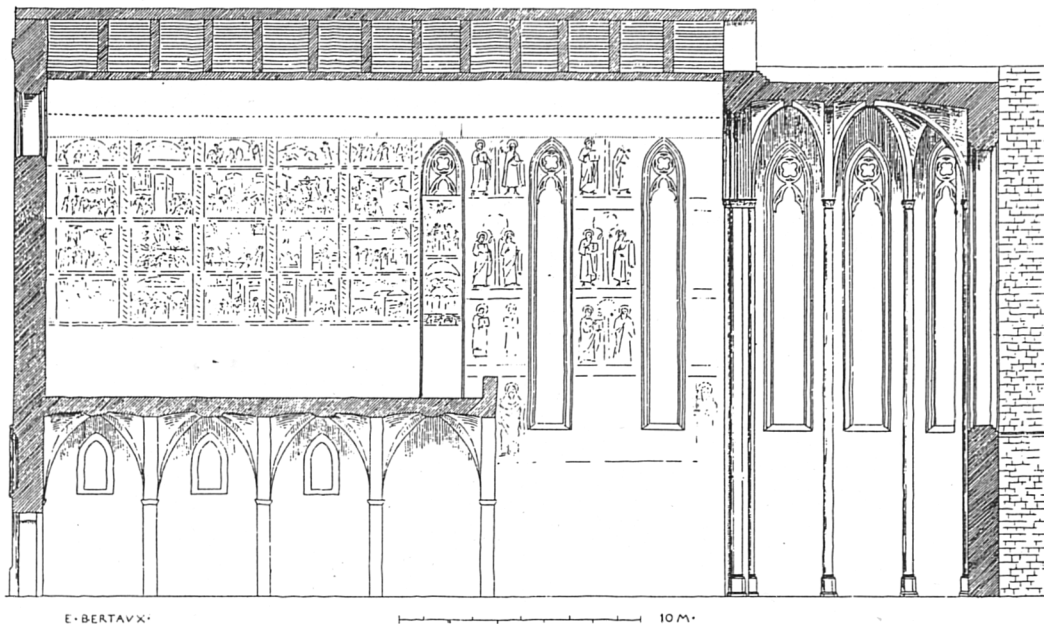
II.1 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Choir, Last Judgement



II.2 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Gallery from the Apse



II.3 Naples, S. Maria Donnaregina, Choir, South Wall,
Passion and Elizabeth Cycles



E. BERTAUX

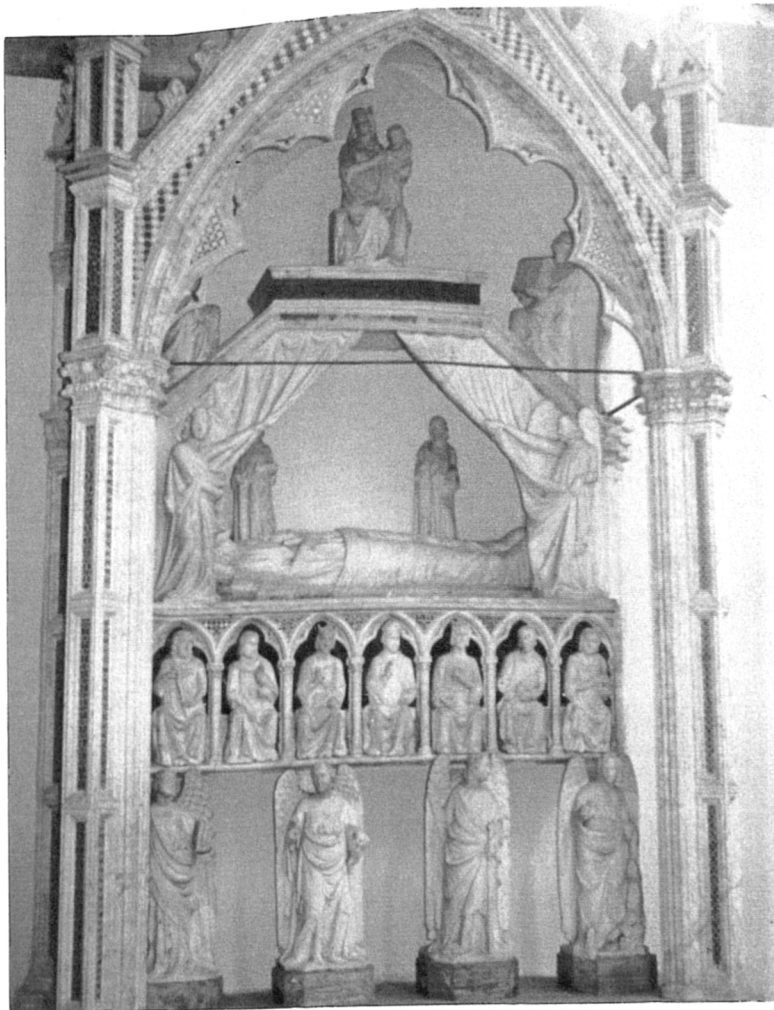
10 M.

INTERNO DELLA CHIESA ANTICA

Taglio secondo A B della pianta.

Dep. Bertaux 1700 21/10/1894 2/10/1894

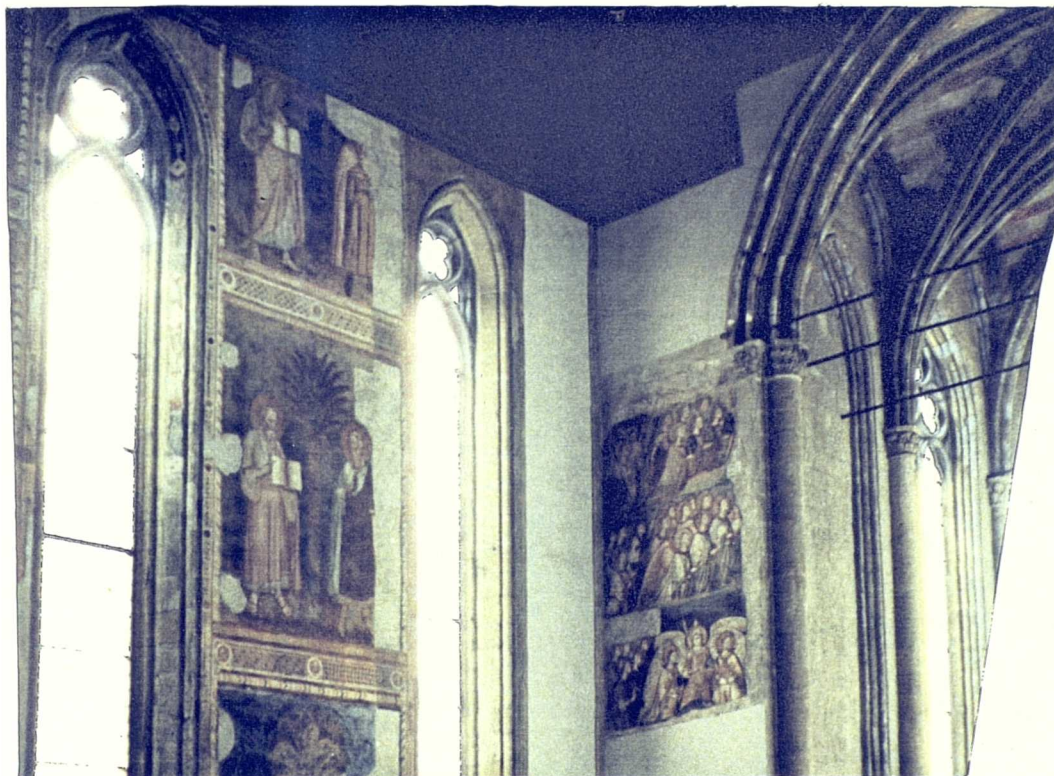
II.4 Naples, S. Maria Donnaregina, Cross-Section (after Bertaux)



II.5 Naples, S. Maria Donnaregina, Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Maria of Hungary



II.6 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.5, Model of Church



II.7 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, South Wall and Triumphal Arch



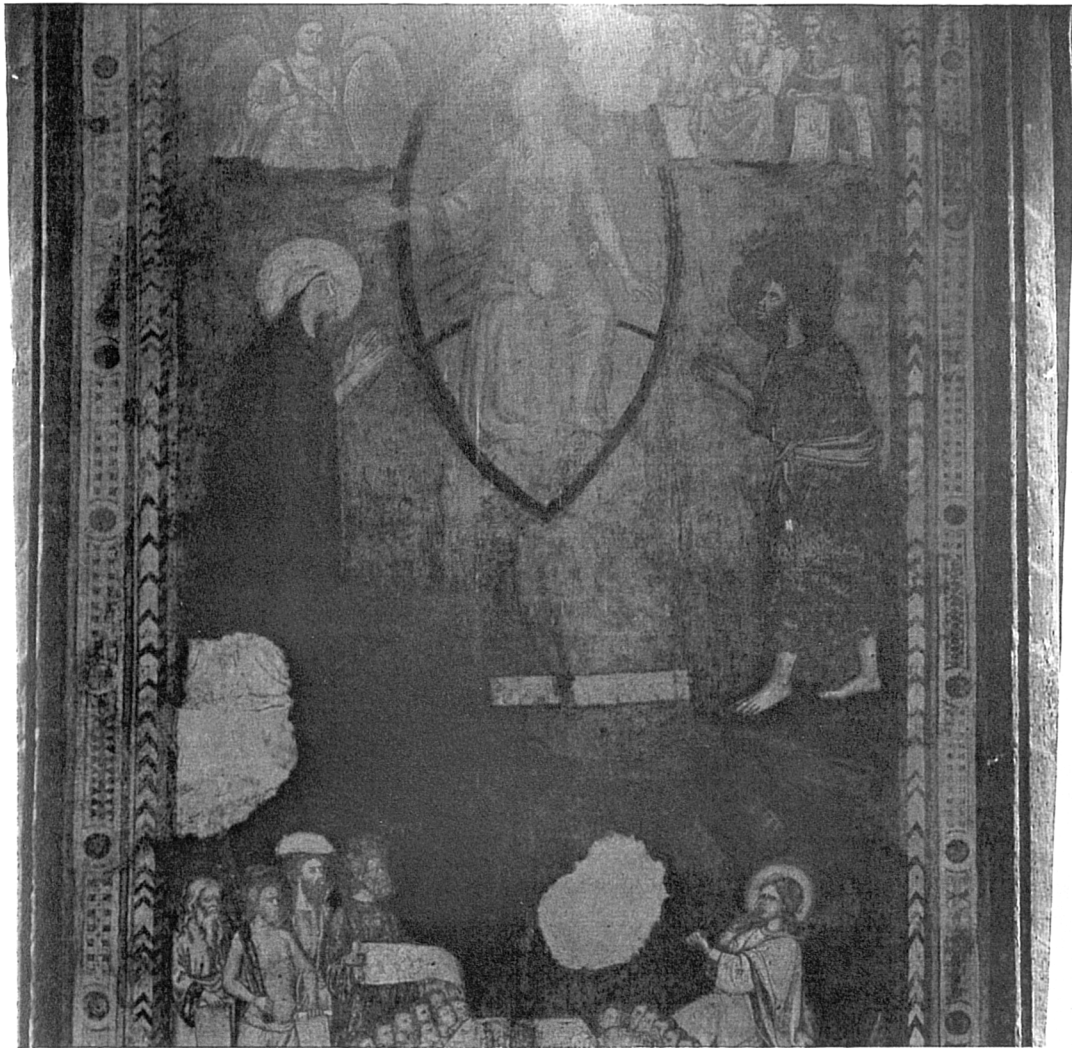
II.8 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, South Wall, St John the Evangelist



II.9 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, West Wall, Madonna of the Apocalypse



II.10 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Last Judgement, Central Section



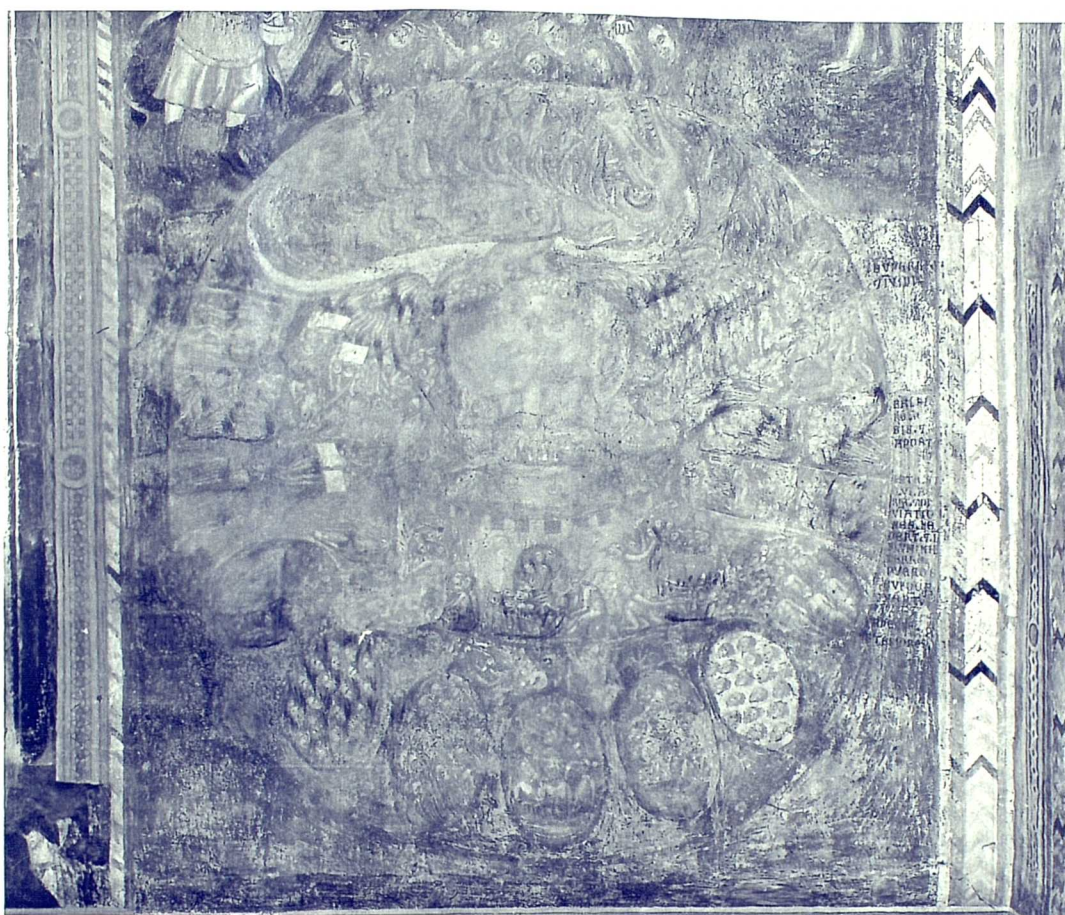
II.11 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.10, Christ-Judge



II.12 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.10, Resurrection



II.13 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Last Judgement, Right Section



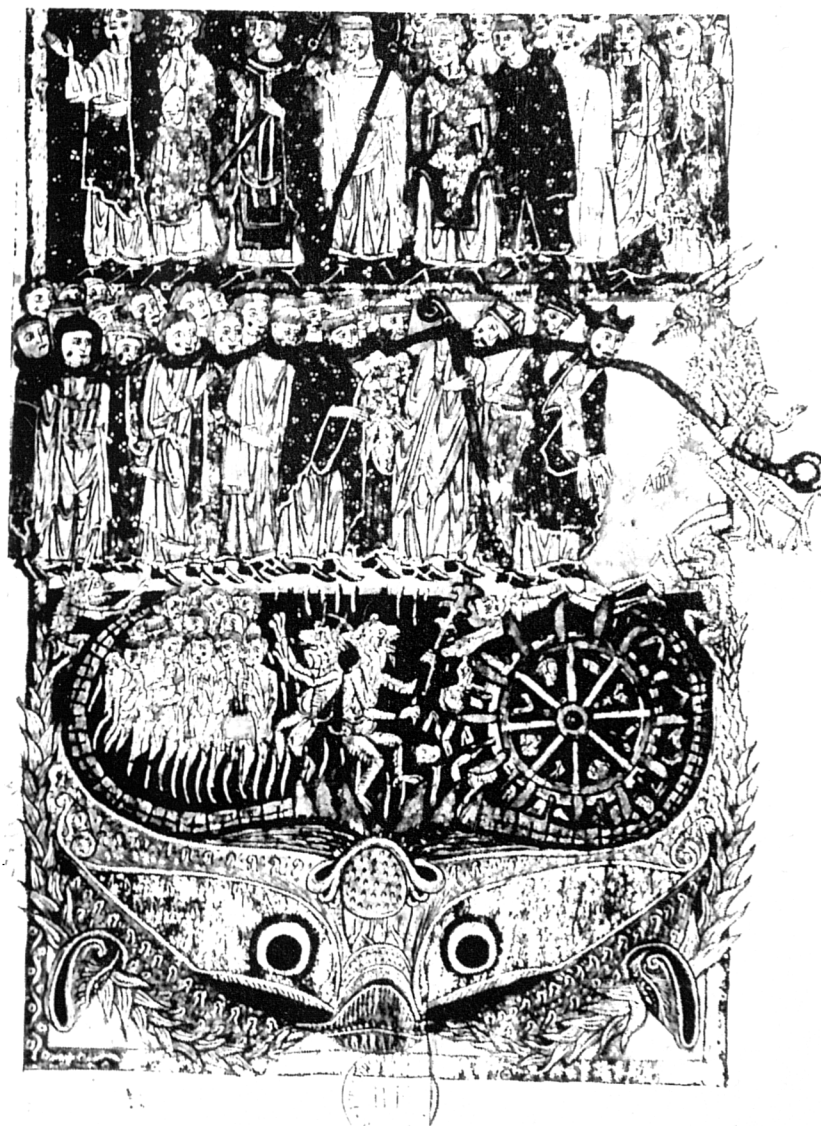
II.14 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.13, Inferno



II.15 New York, Morgan Lib., Beatus ms.644, f.219v-220r,
Last Judgement



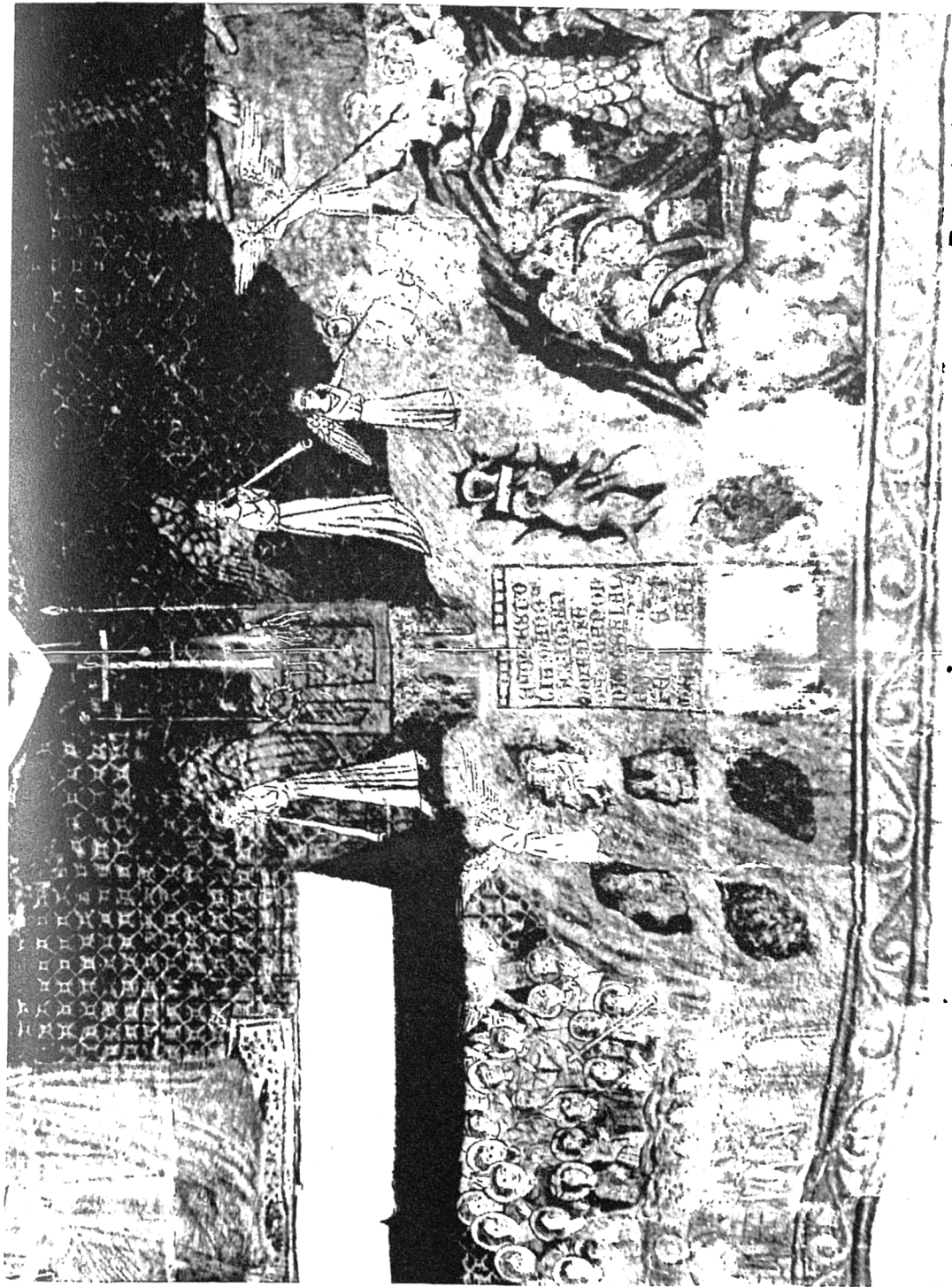
II.16 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, North Wall, Apocalypse Scenes



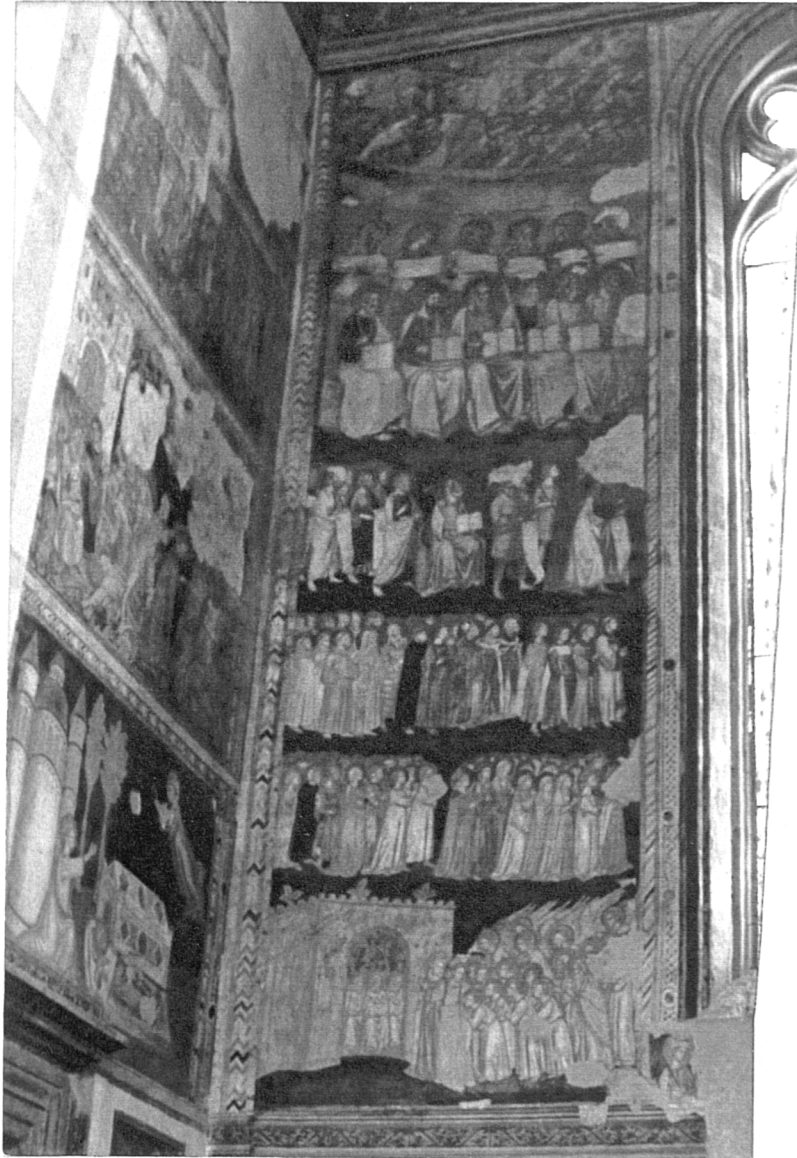
II.17 Paris, BN, ms.nouv.acq.lat.2290, f.160, Last Judgement



II.18 Gerona, Beatus ms.7, f.17, Anastasis and Inferno



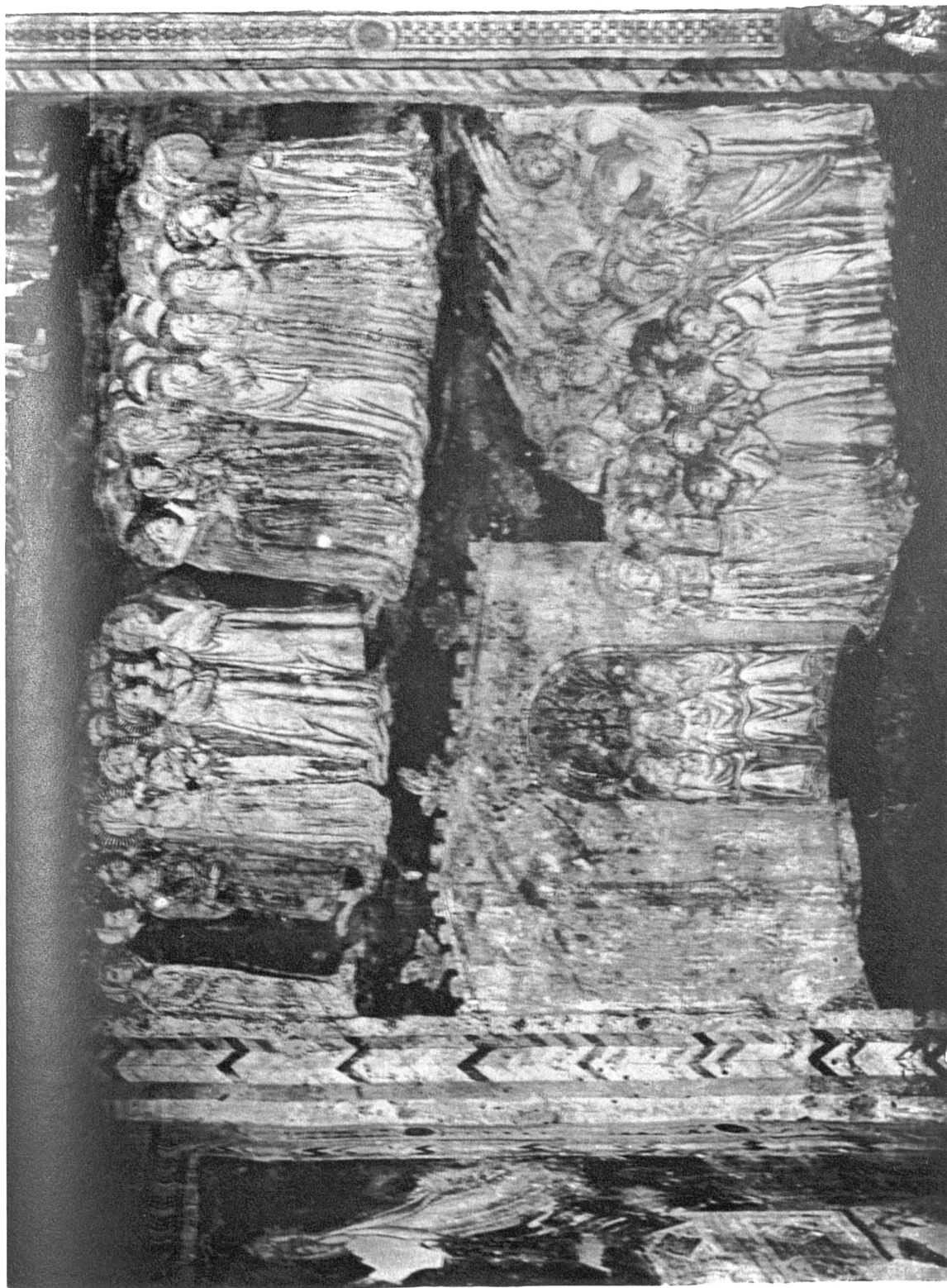
II.19 Salamanca, Cathedral, Fresco, Last Judgement



II.20 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Last Judgment, Left Section



II.21 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.20, Procession of the Blessed



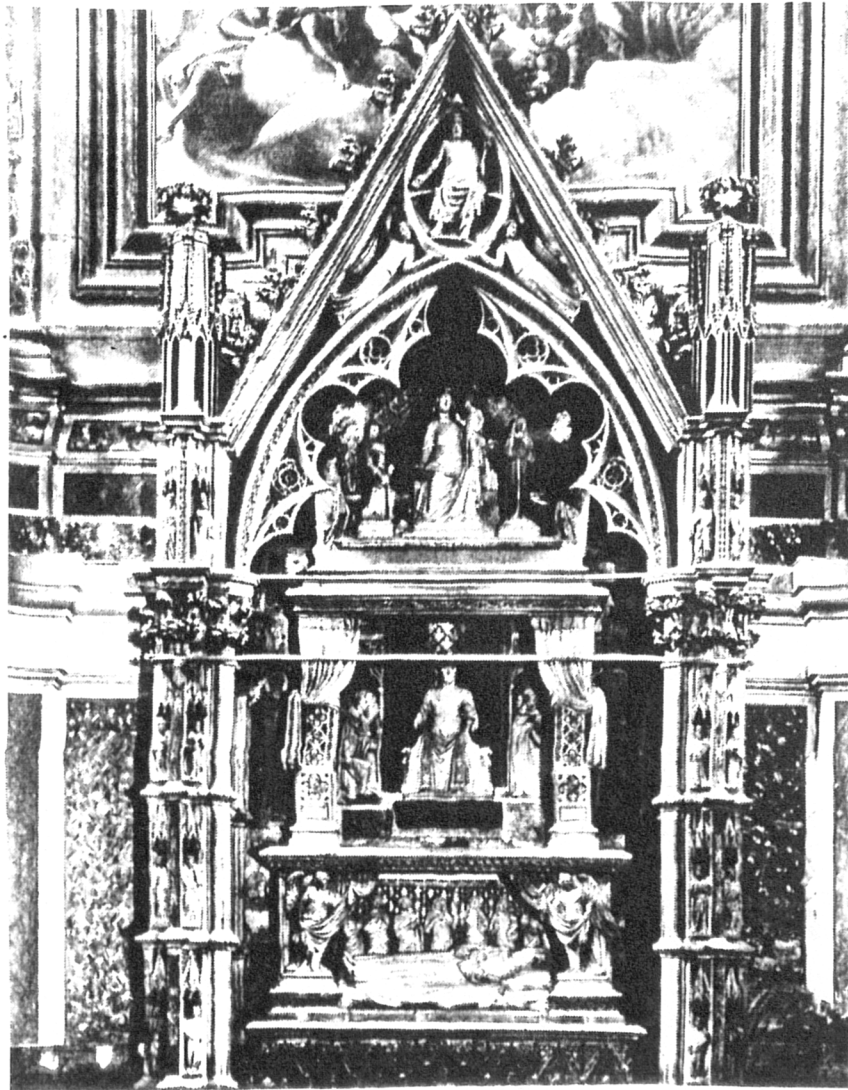
II.22 Naples, S.Maria Donnaregina, Detail of II.20, Heavenly Gate



II.23 Rome, Musei Capitolini, Arnolfo di Cambio, Statue of Charles of Anjou



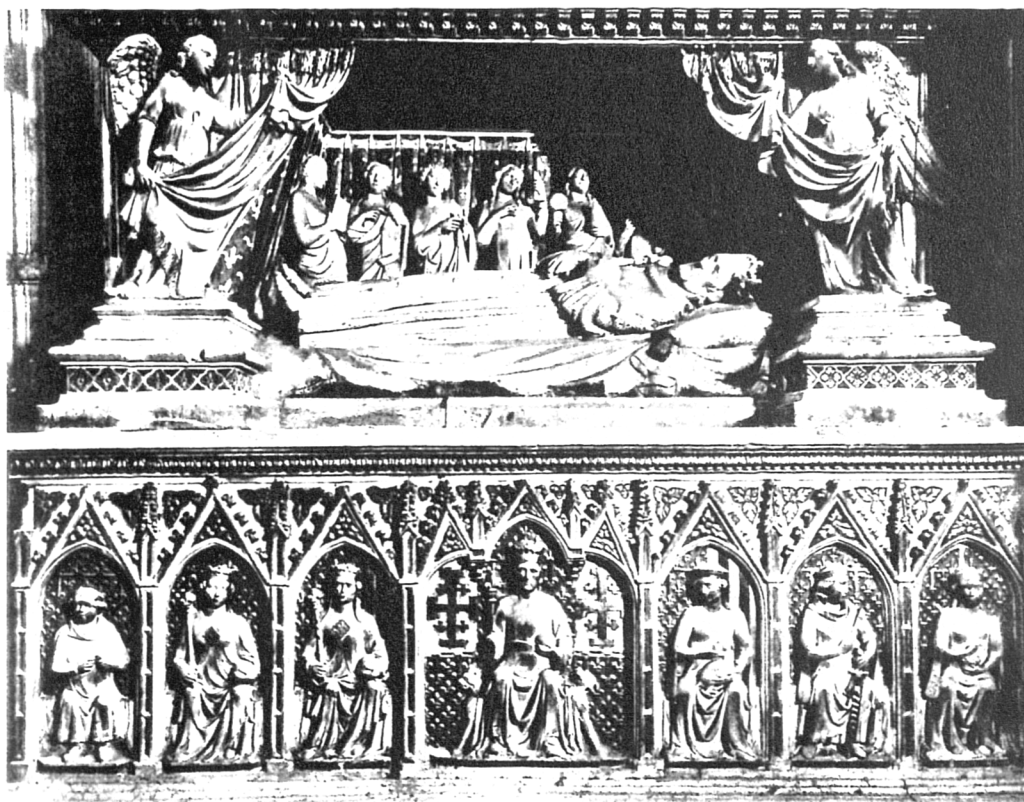
II.24 Aachen, Palace Chapel of the Cathedral, Arca of Charlemagne,
Frederick II



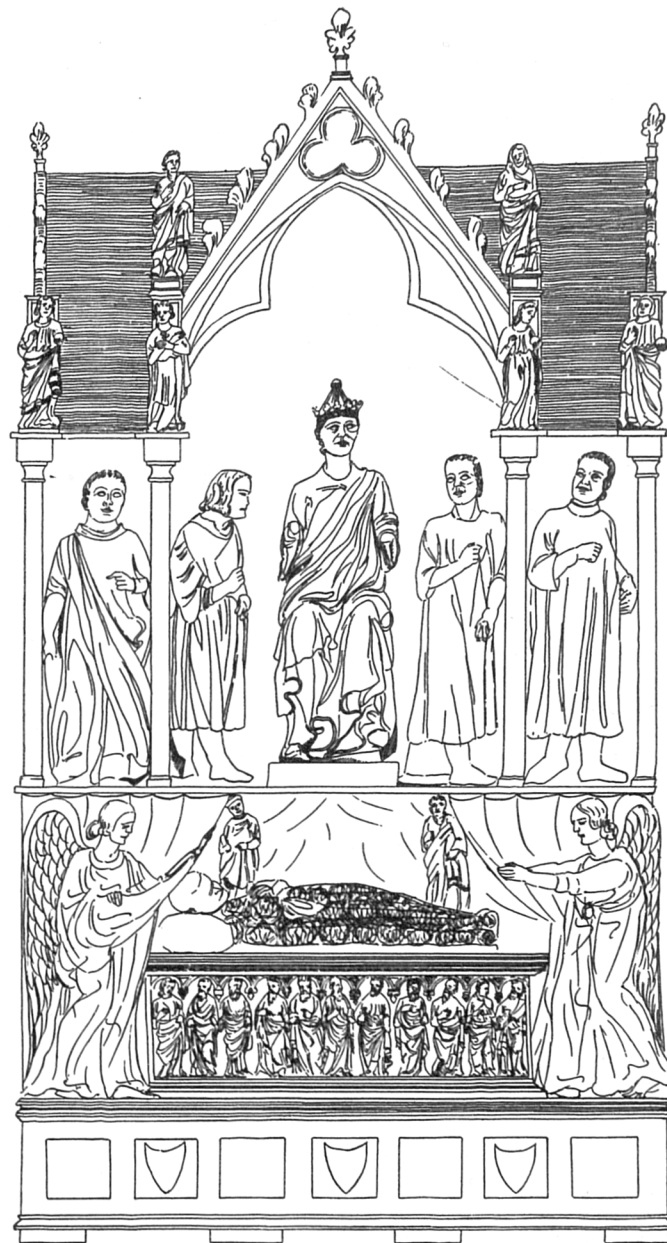
II.25 Naples, S.Chara, Tomb of Robert of Anjou



II.26 Naples, S. Chiara, Detail of II.25, Robert Enthroned as Judge



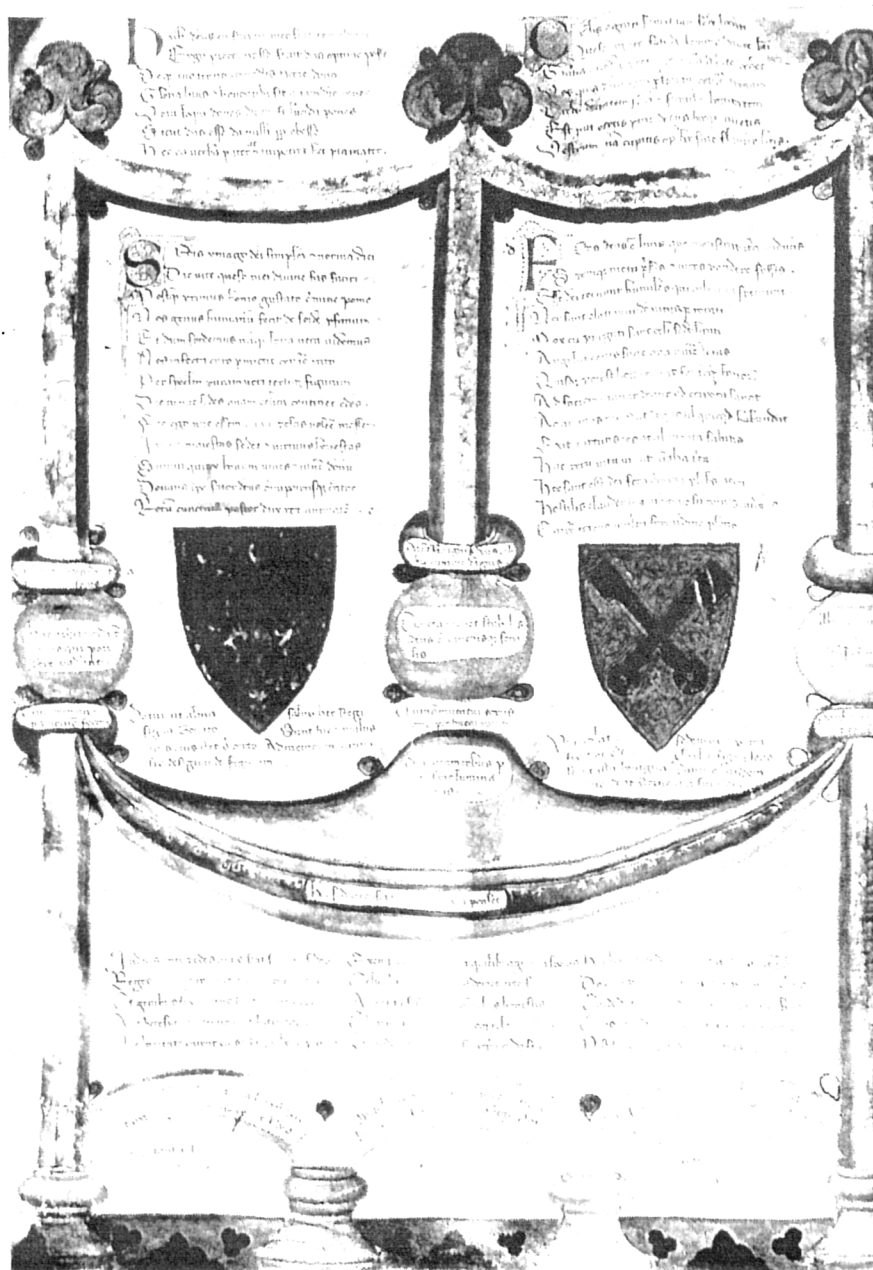
II.27 Naples, S.Chara, Detail of II.25, Effigy and Robert Enthroned as Dynastic Ruler



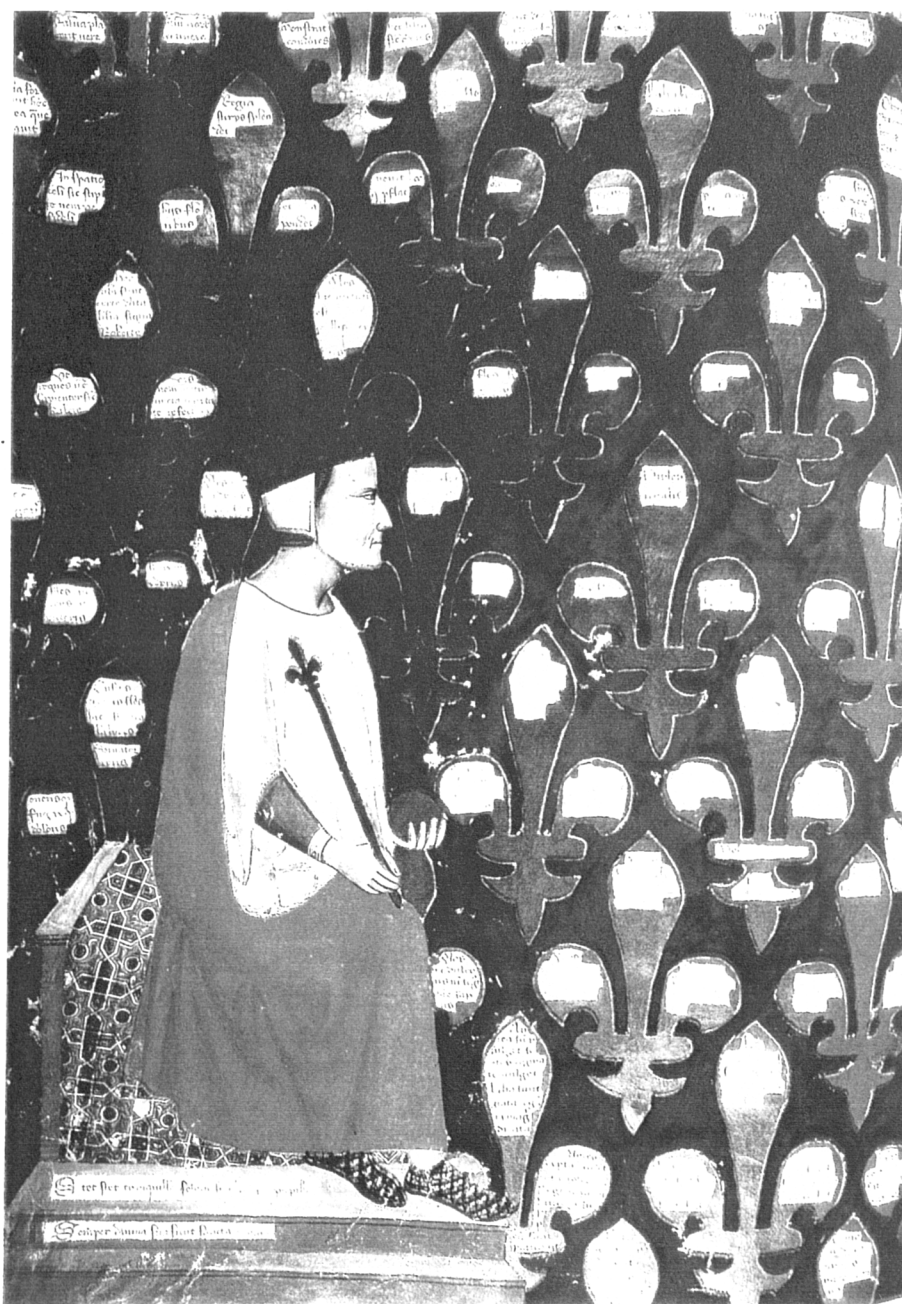
II.28 Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Henry VII of Luxembourg,
Reconstruction (after Valentiner)



II.29 Louvain, Universiteits Bibl., Fac.Theol.1, Malines Bible, f.1v,
Robert Enthroned Among the Virtues



II.30 London, BL, Bibl.Reg.6 E IX, *Convenevole de Pratis Poemata*, Roberto Regi Neapoli Dicata, f.1v, Throne



II.31 London, BL, Bibl.Reg.6 E IX, *Convenevole de Pratis Poemata*,
Roberto Regi Neapoli Dicata, f.1v, Robert Enthroned as Judge



III.1 Padua, Arena Chapel, Giotto, Interior



III.2 Padua, Arena Chapel, Giotto, Last Judgement



III.3 Padua, Arena Chapel, Giotto, Detail of III.2, Apostles



III.4 Padua, Arena Chapel, Giotto, Detail of III.2, Donor Group



III.5 Grosseto, Museo Diocesano, Guido da Siena (or School), Panel,
Last Judgement



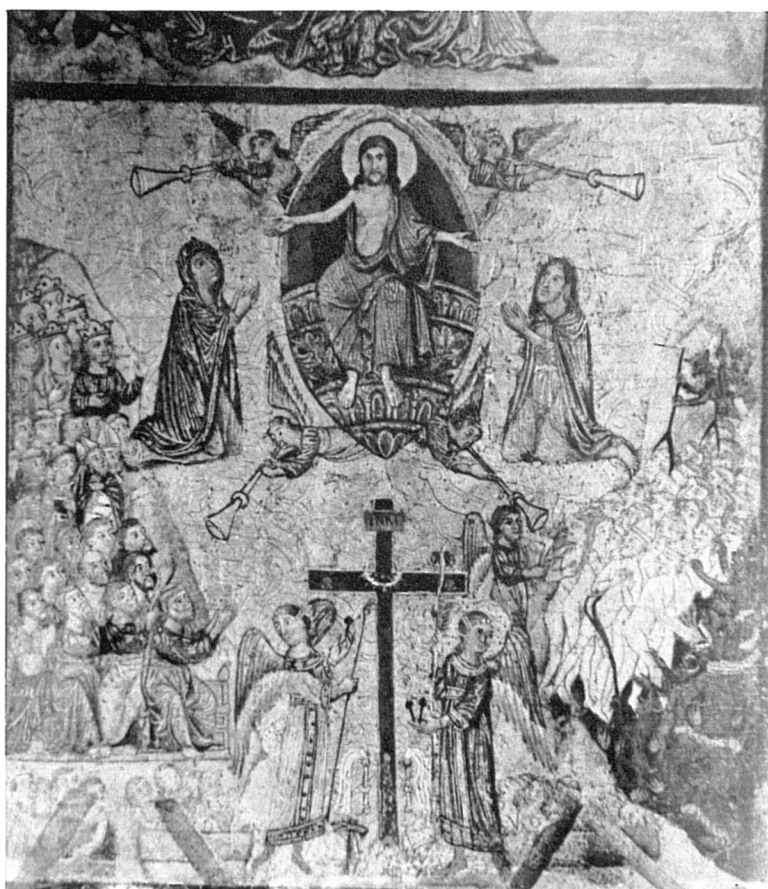
III.6 Tuscania, S.Maria Maggiore, Gregorio and Donato,
Last Judgement



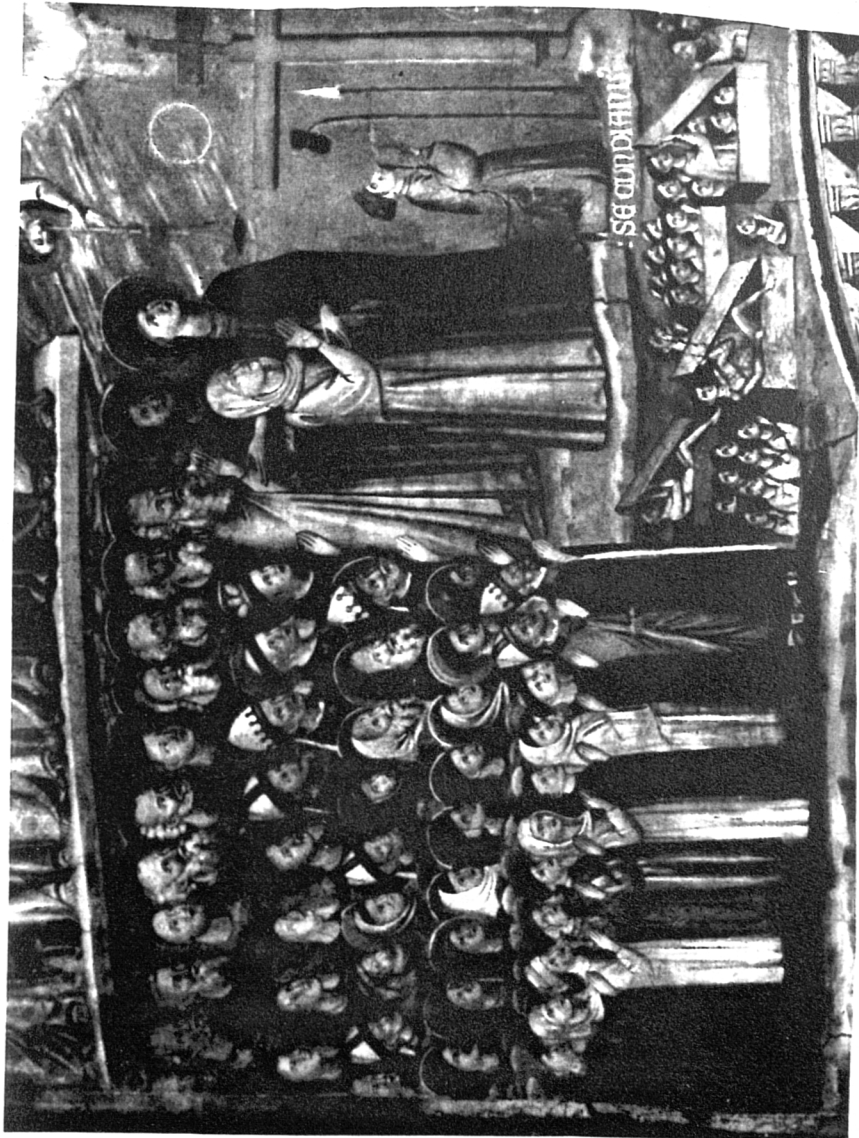
III.7 Assisi, S. Chiara, Right Transept, Last Judgement



III.8 Siena, Cathedral, Nicola Pisano, Marble Pulpit, Last Judgement,
Left Panel



III.10 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Inv.n.1041,
Deodato di Orlando, Panel, Detail, Last Judgement



III.11 Tuscania, S.Maria Maggiore, Gregorio and Donato, Detail of
III.14, Intercessors and Donor



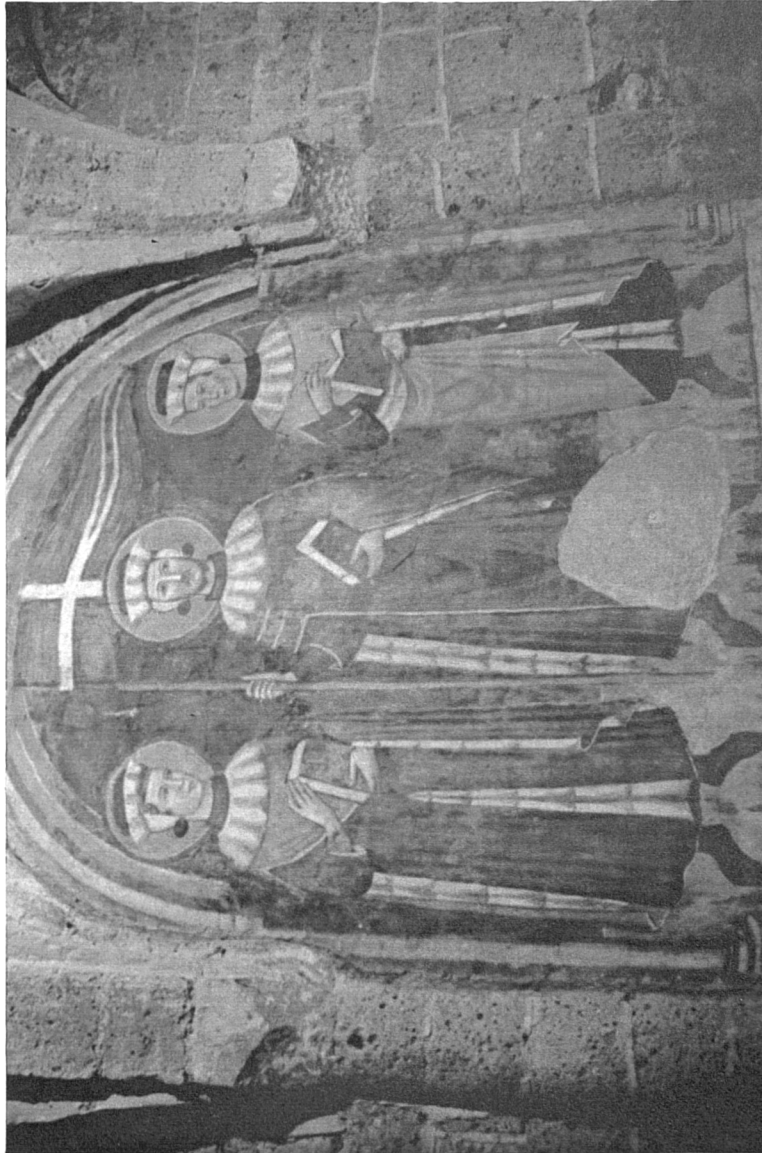
III.12 Padua, Arena Chapel, Giotto, Detail of III.2,
the Virgin Among the Blessed



III.13 Pisa, Cathedral, Giovanni Pisano, Marble Pulpit,
Last Judgement, Left Panel



III.14 Tuscania, S.Maria Maggiore, Gregorio and Donato,
Last Judgement, pre-1971



III.15 Tuscania, S.Pietro, Crypt, Gregorio and Donato,
 Sts Secundiano, Marcellino and Veriano



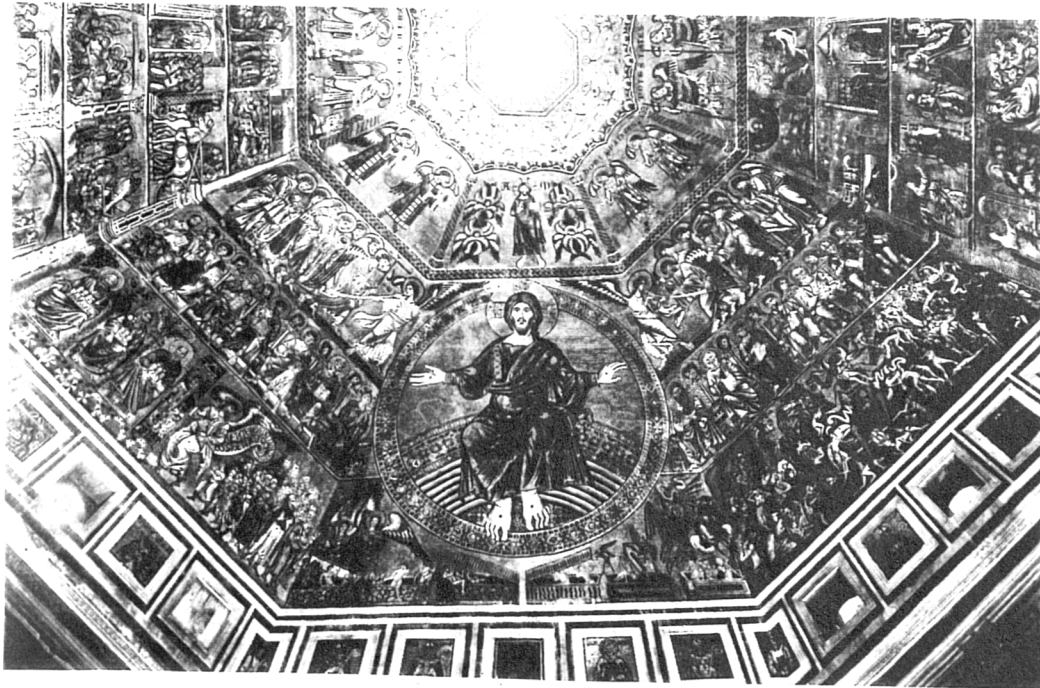
III.16 Tuscania, S. Maria Maggiore, Gregorio and Donato, Left Aisle,
Madonna Orans



III.17 Tuscania, S. Maria Maggiore, Gregorio and Donato, Nave,
Right Wall, Assumption of the Virgin



III.19 Vatican City, BAV, Cod.Vat.Lat.5408, p.43, Drawing of Pope Gregory IX, Mosaic formerly on Façade of Old St Peter's



IV.1 Florence, Baptistery, Cupola Mosaic, Last Judgement



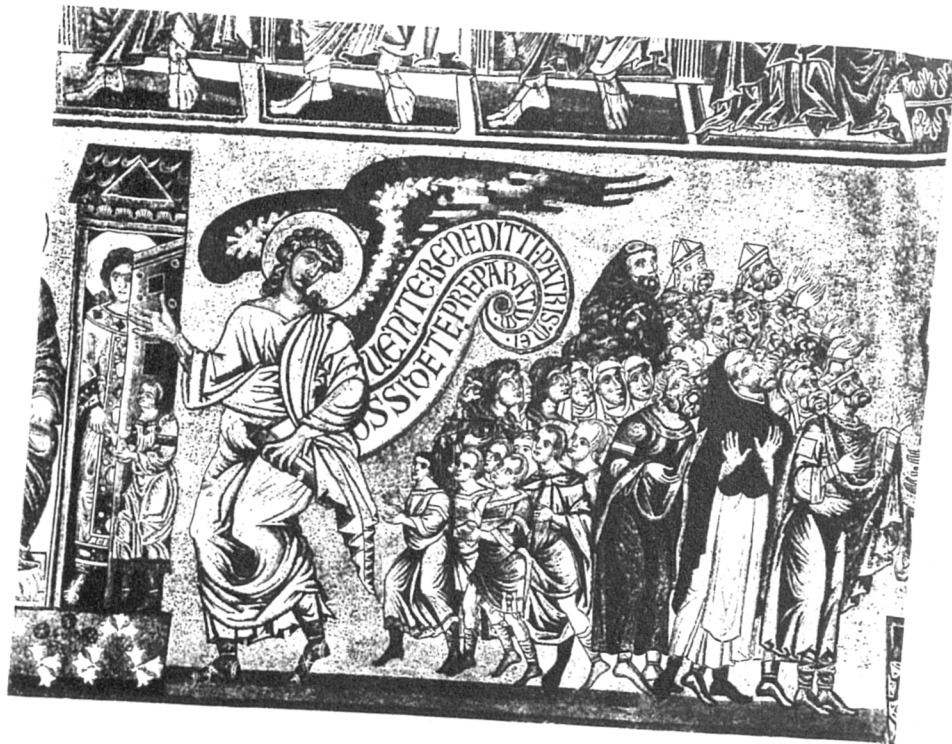
IV.2 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.1, Christ-Judge



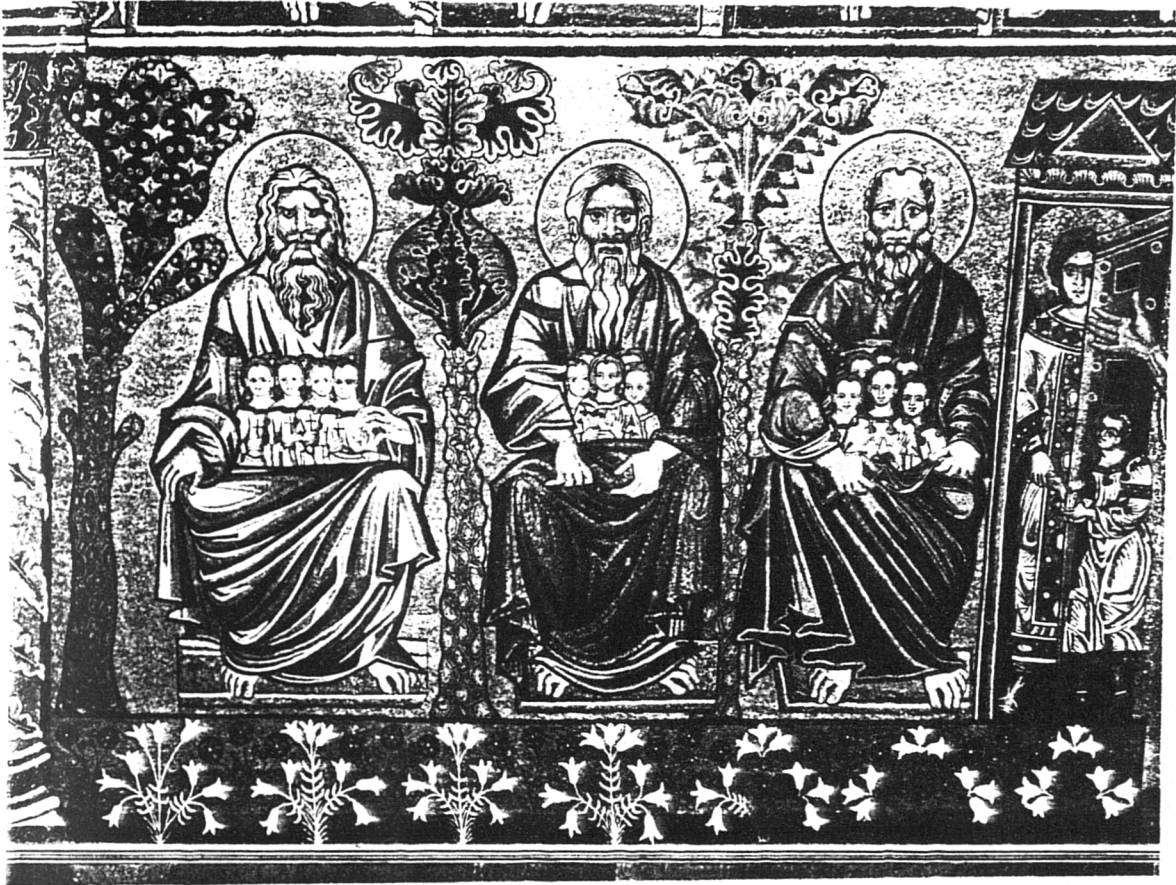
IV.3 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.1, Left Facet



IV.4 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.1, Right Facet



IV.5 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.3, Blessed



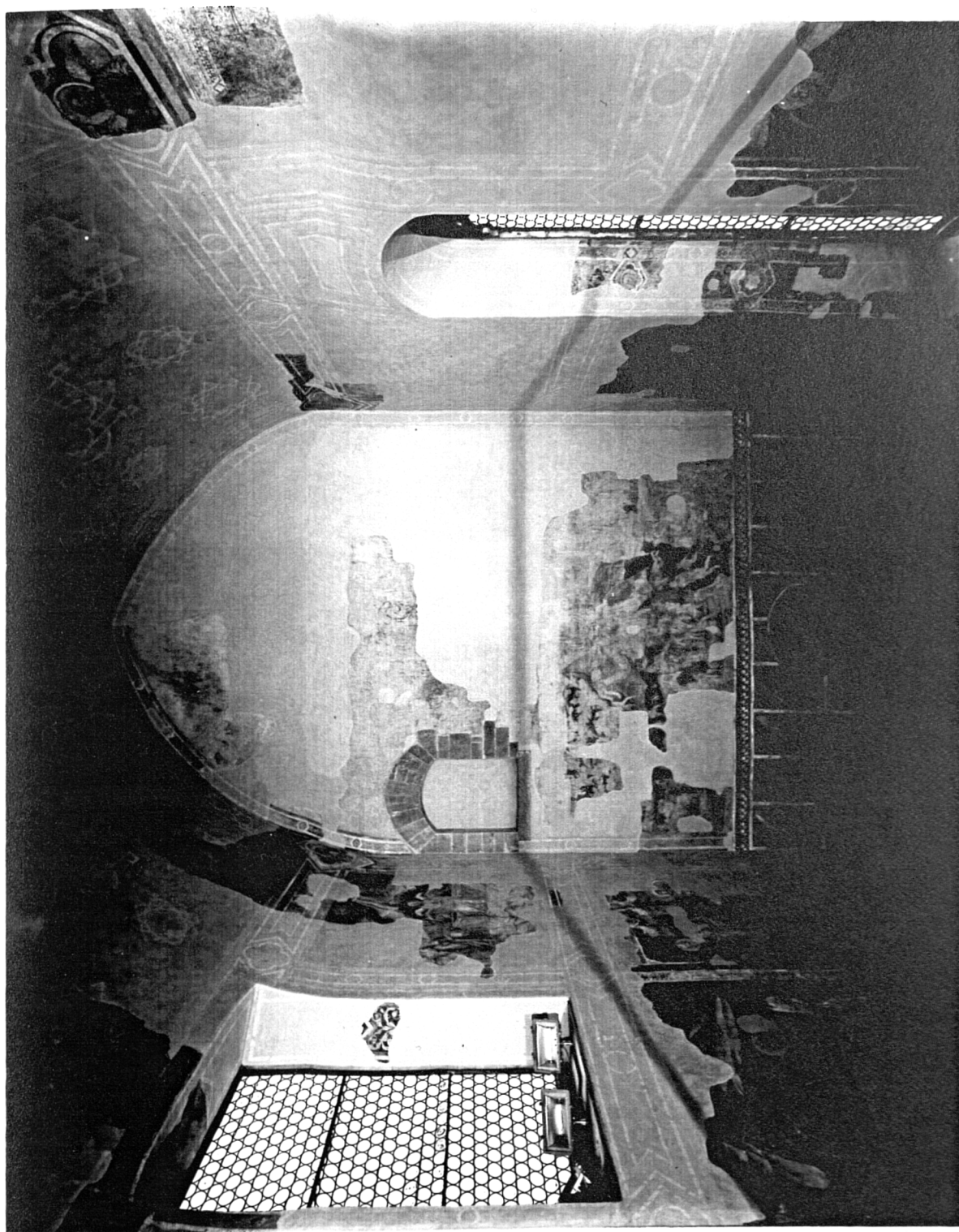
IV.6 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.3, Patriarchs



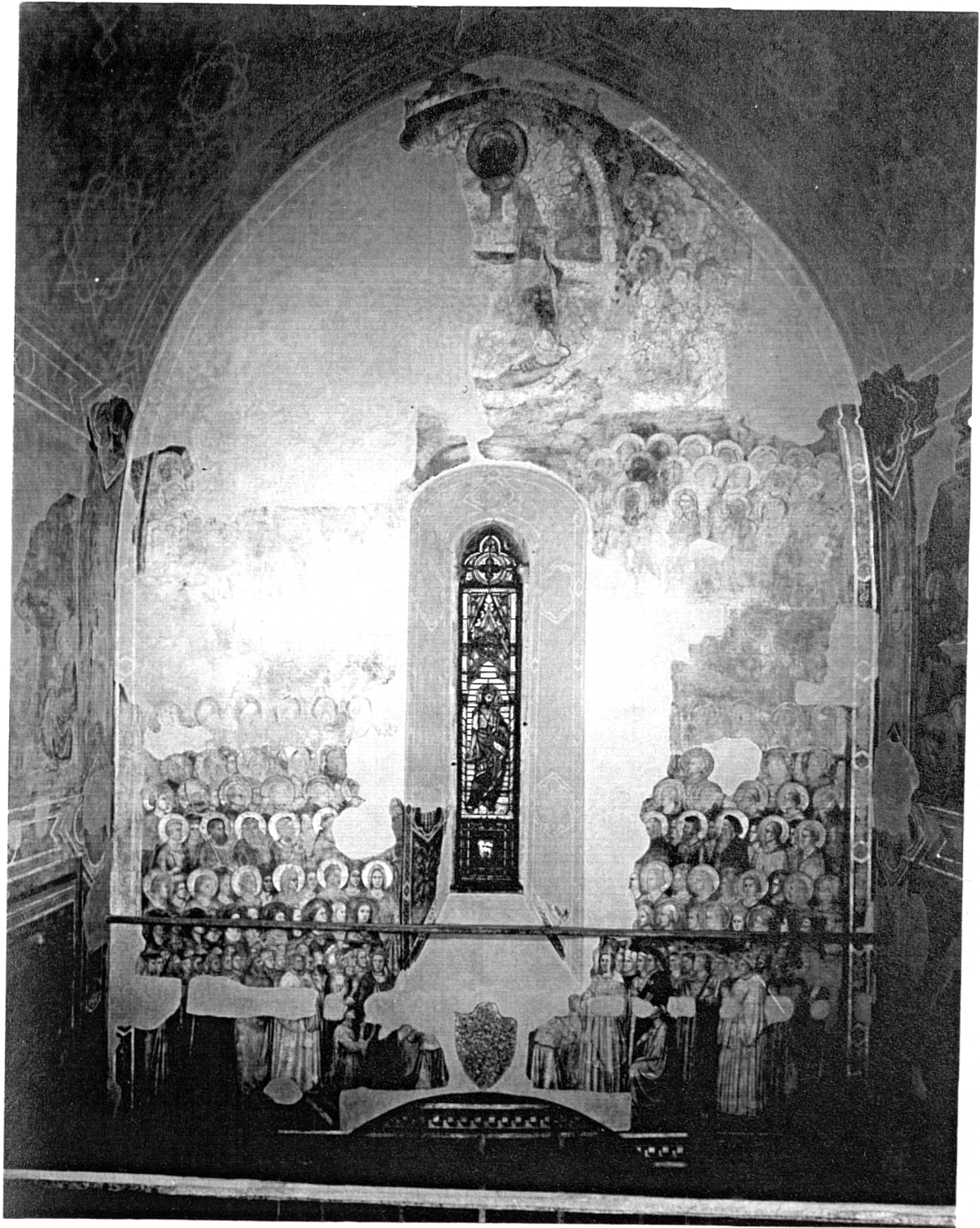
IV.7 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.4, Damned



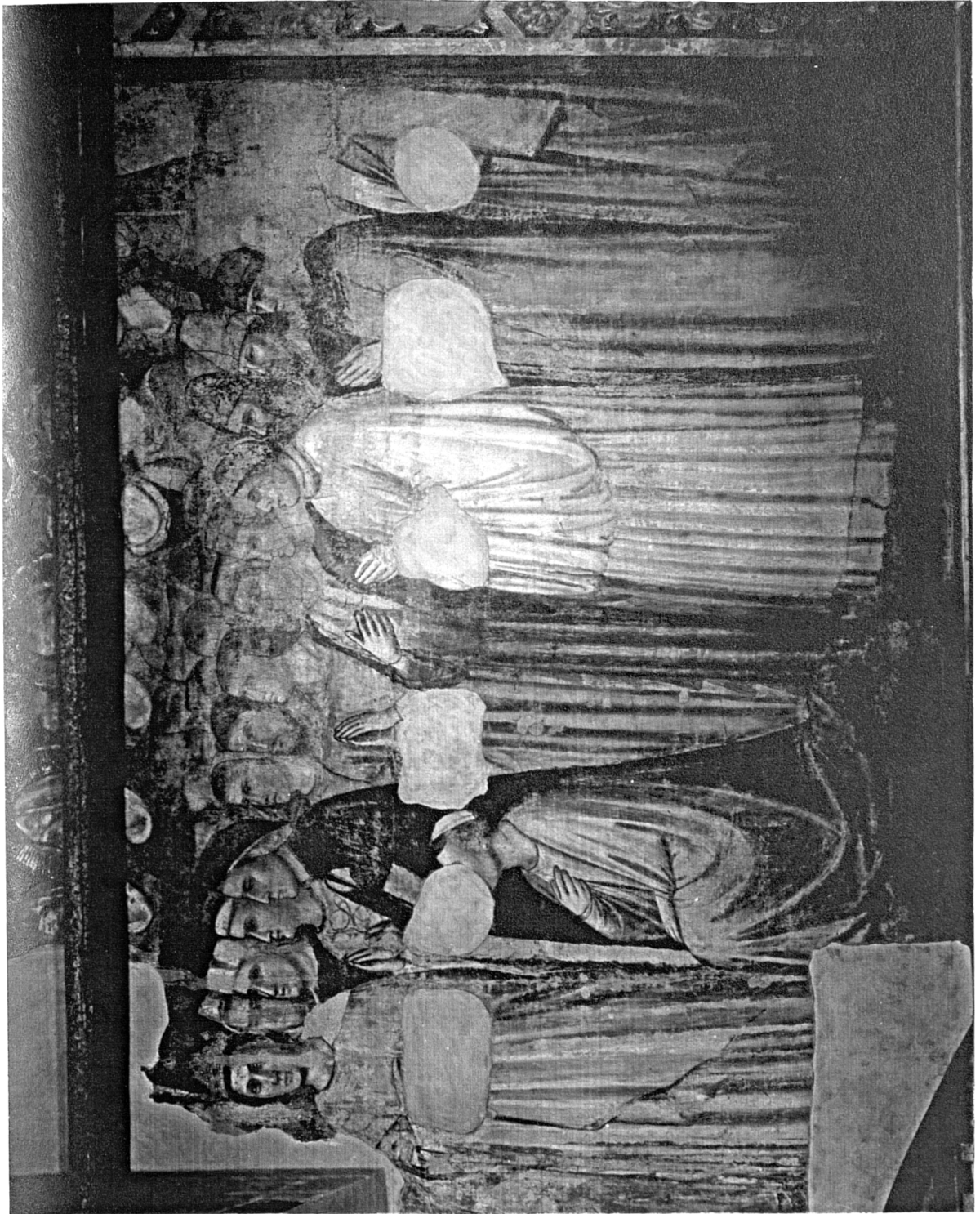
IV.8 Florence, Baptistery, Detail of IV.4, Satan



IV.9 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, West Wall, Inferno



IV.10 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, East Wall, Paradise



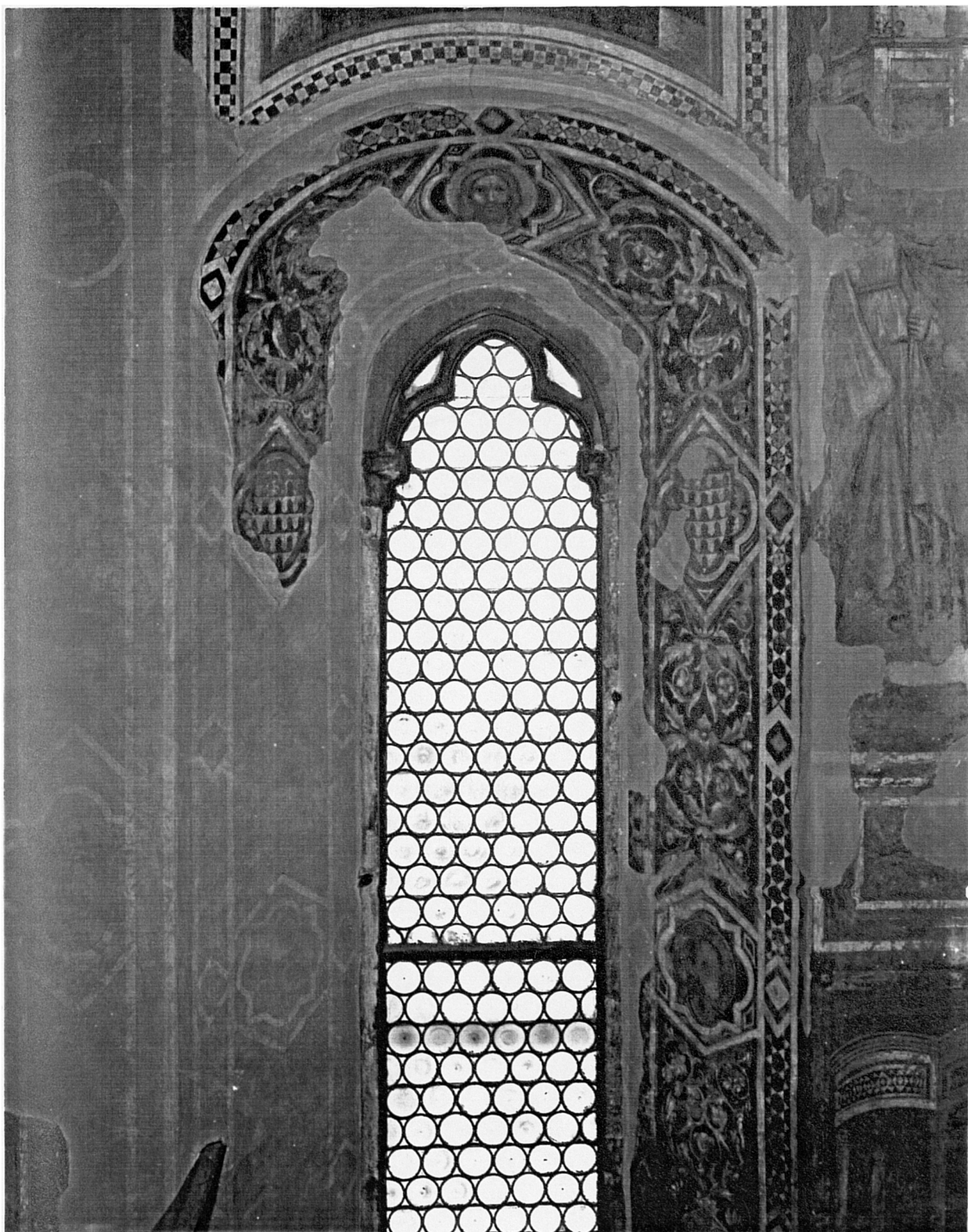
IV.11 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, Detail of IV.10, Blessed



IV.12 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, Detail of IV.10,
Portrait of Dante



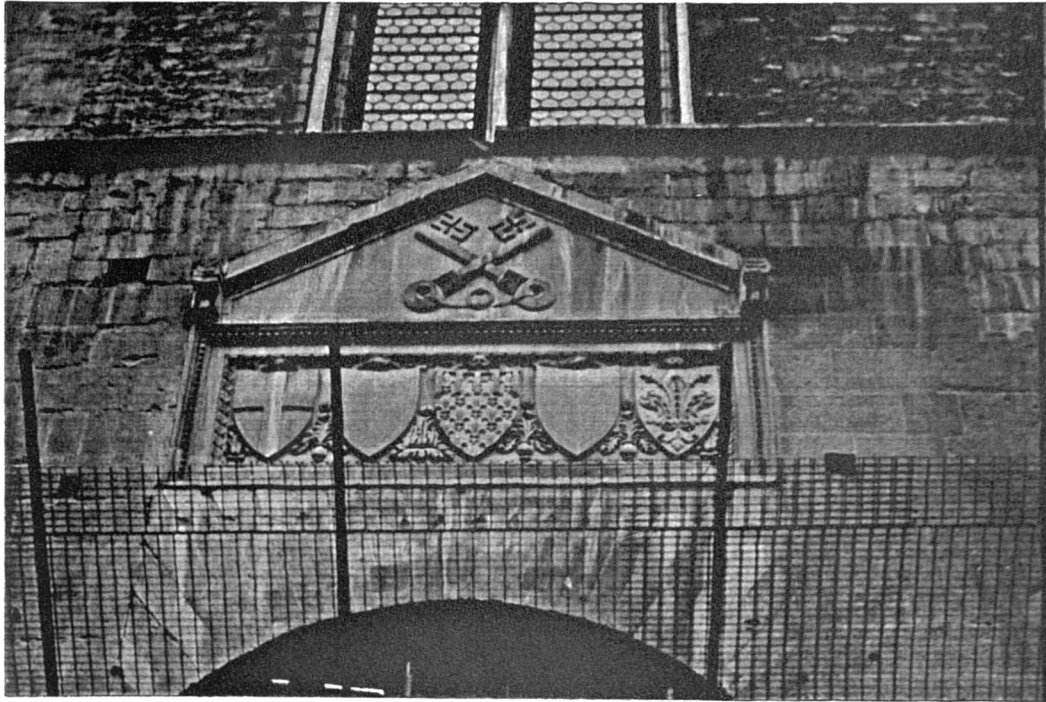
IV.13 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, North Wall, S.Venanzio



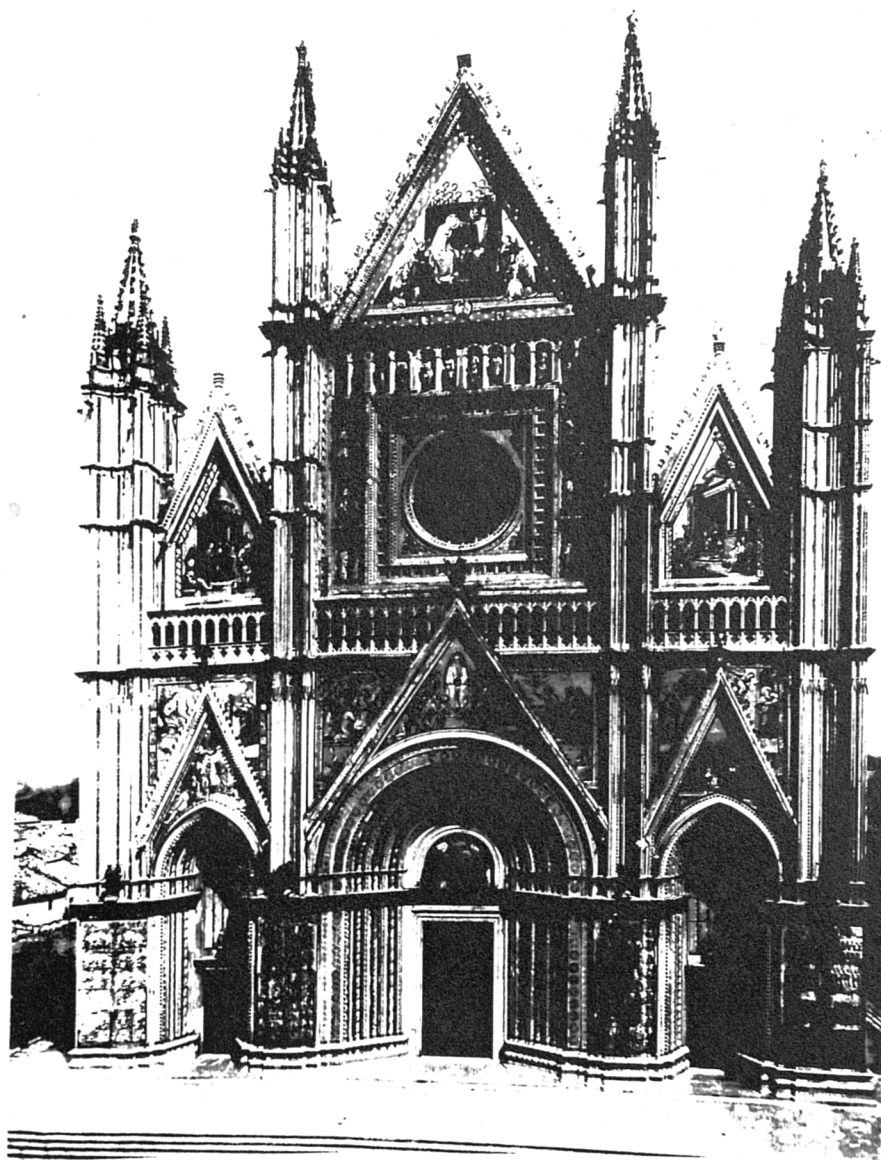
IV.14 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, North Wall, *Stemma* of Fidesmino de Varano



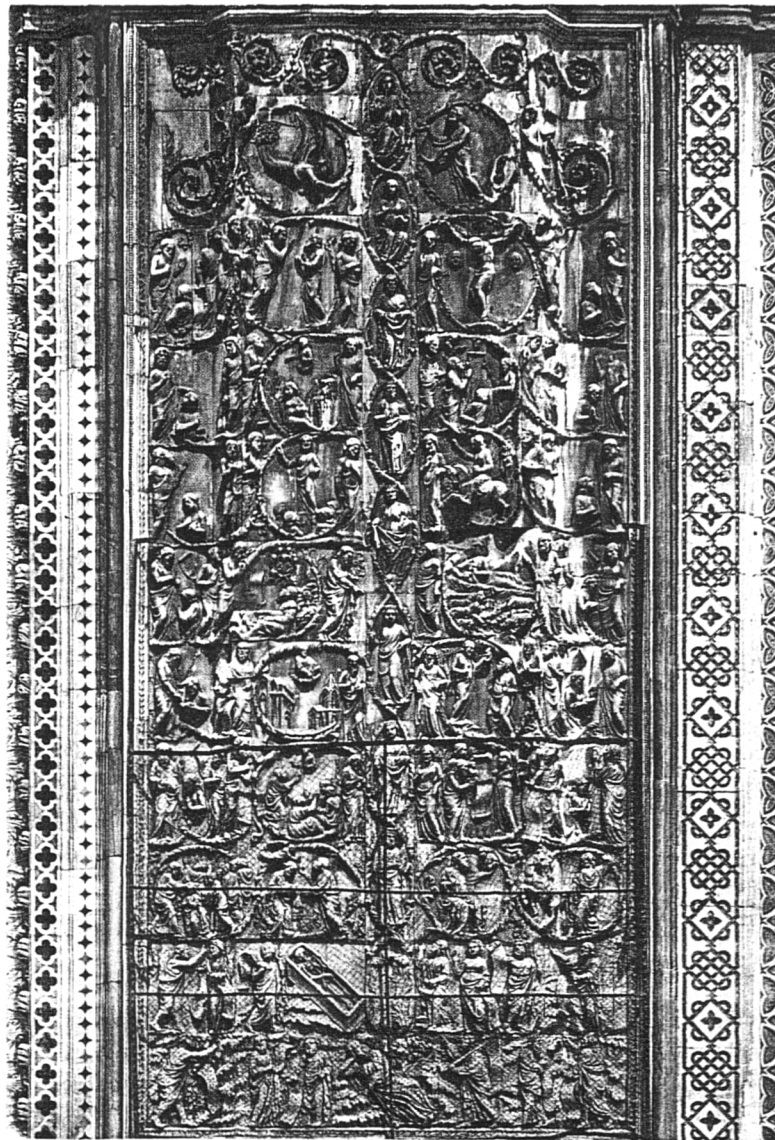
IV.15 Florence, Museo Stibbert, Panel, Story of Rinaldeschi



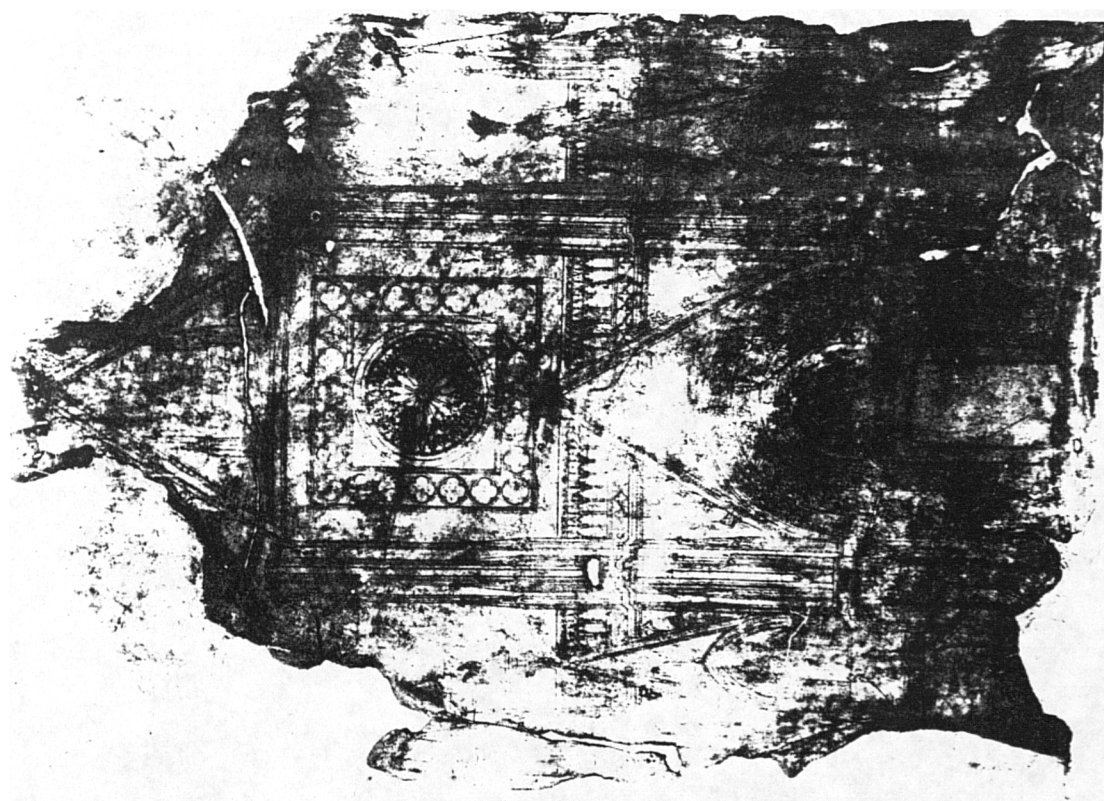
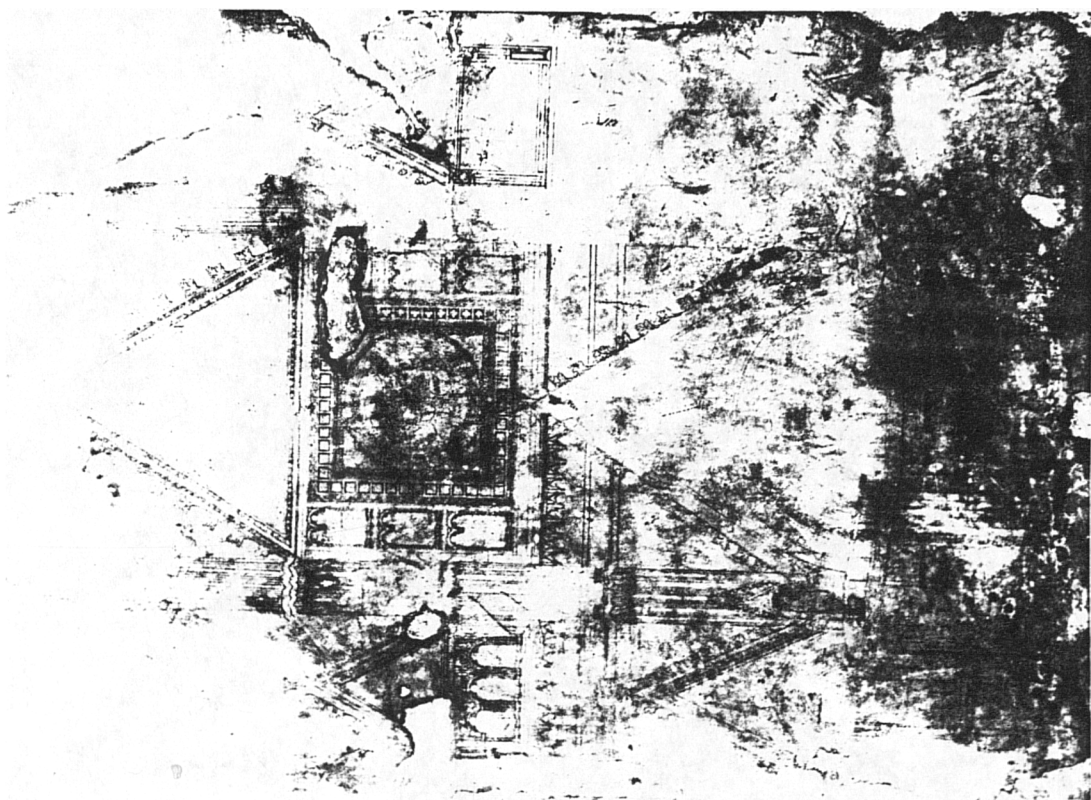
IV.16 Florence, Bargello, Exterior South Wall, *Stemma* of Charles II Anjou



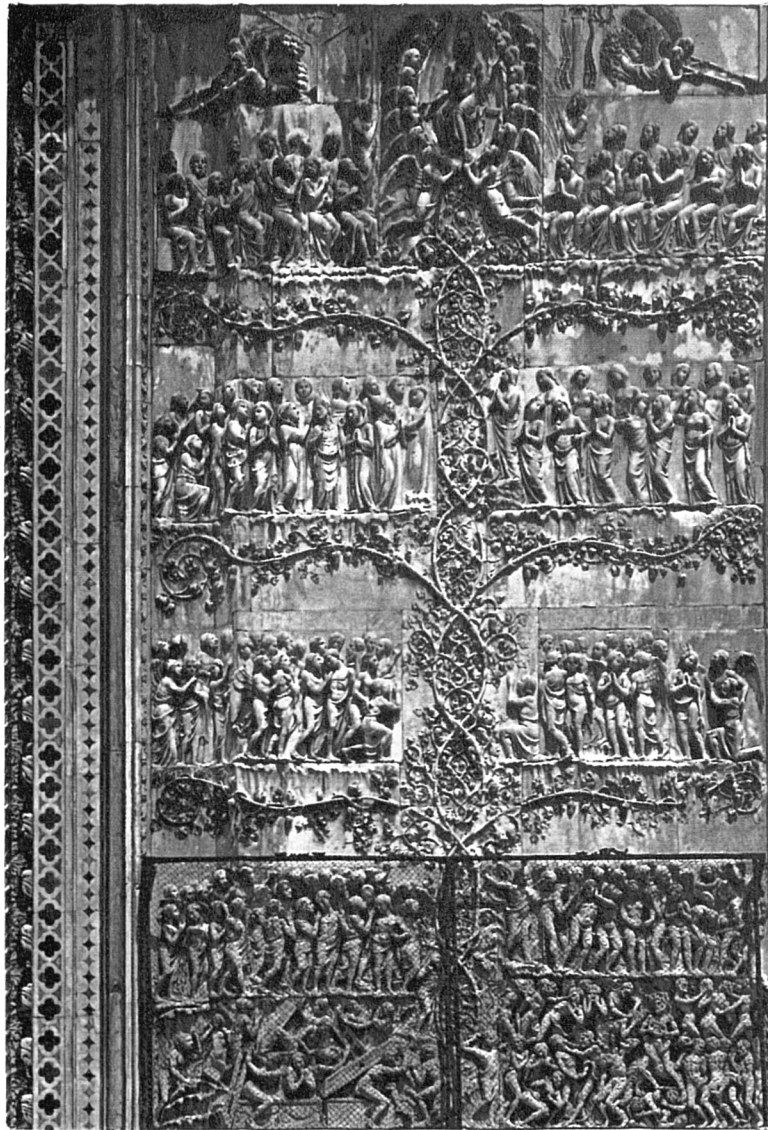
IV. 17 Orvieto, Cathedral, West Façade



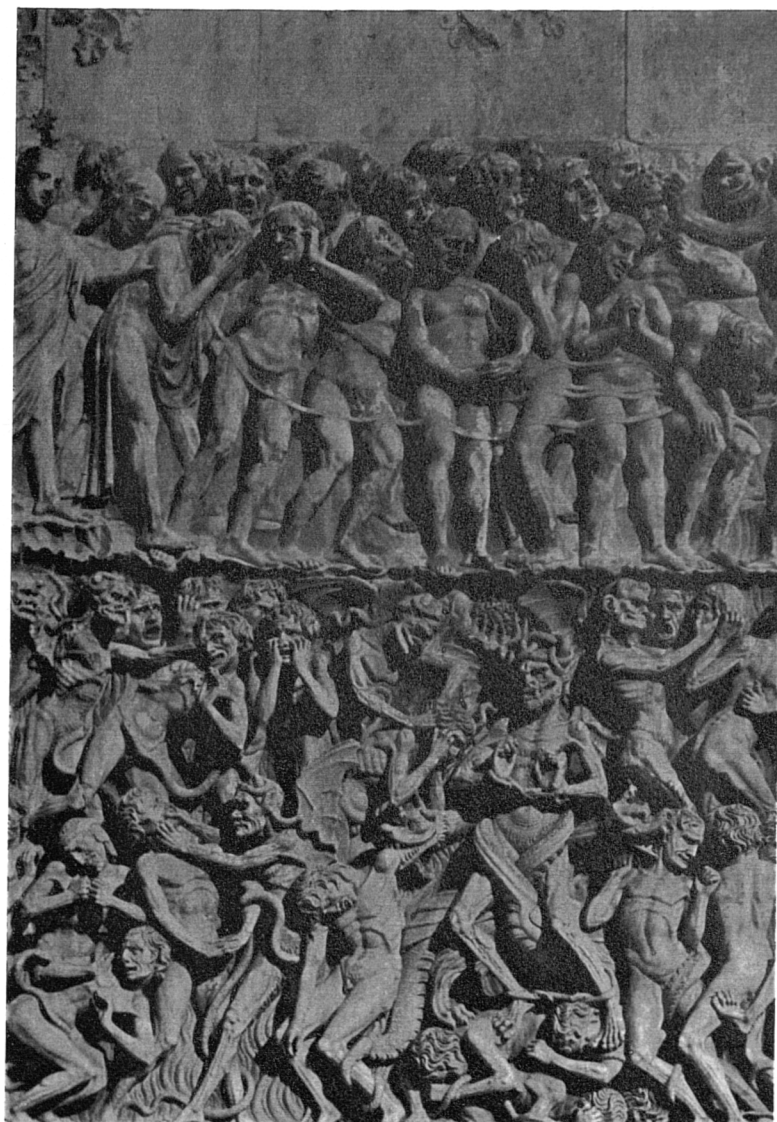
IV.18 Orvieto, Cathedral, Lorenzo Maitani, Façade Relief, Jesse Tree



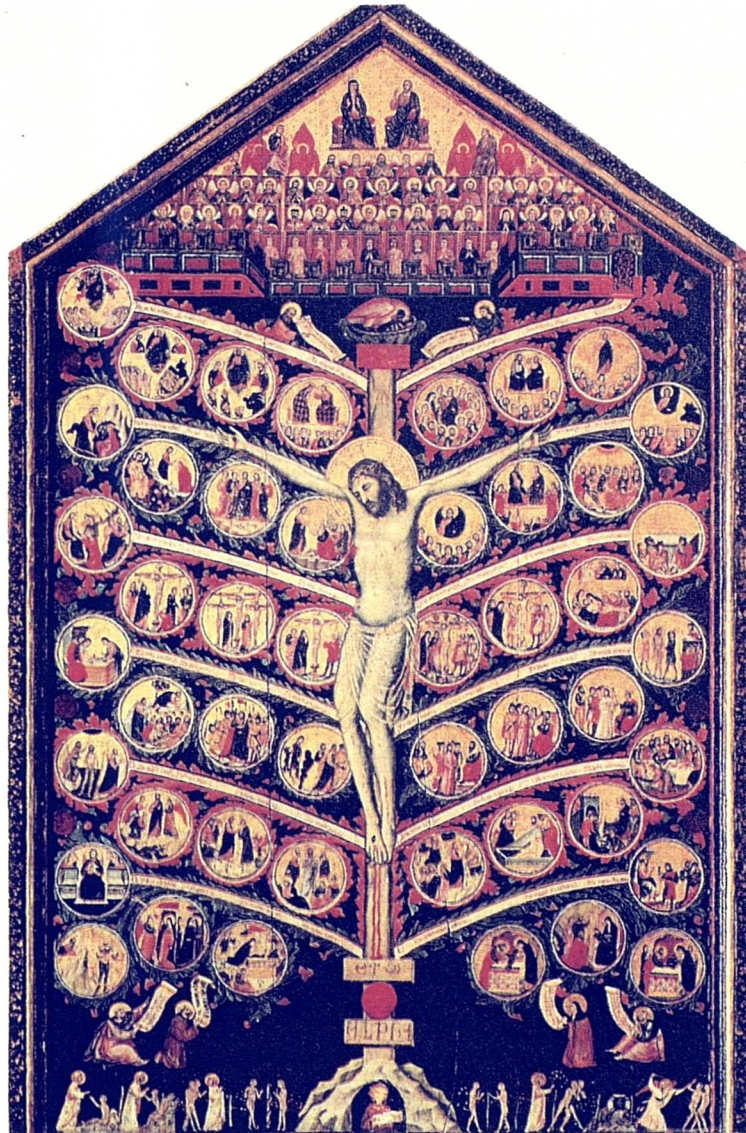
IV.19 Orvieto, Elevation Drawings of Cathedral Façade



IV.20 Orvieto, Cathedral, Lorenzo Maitani, Façade Relief,
Last Judgement



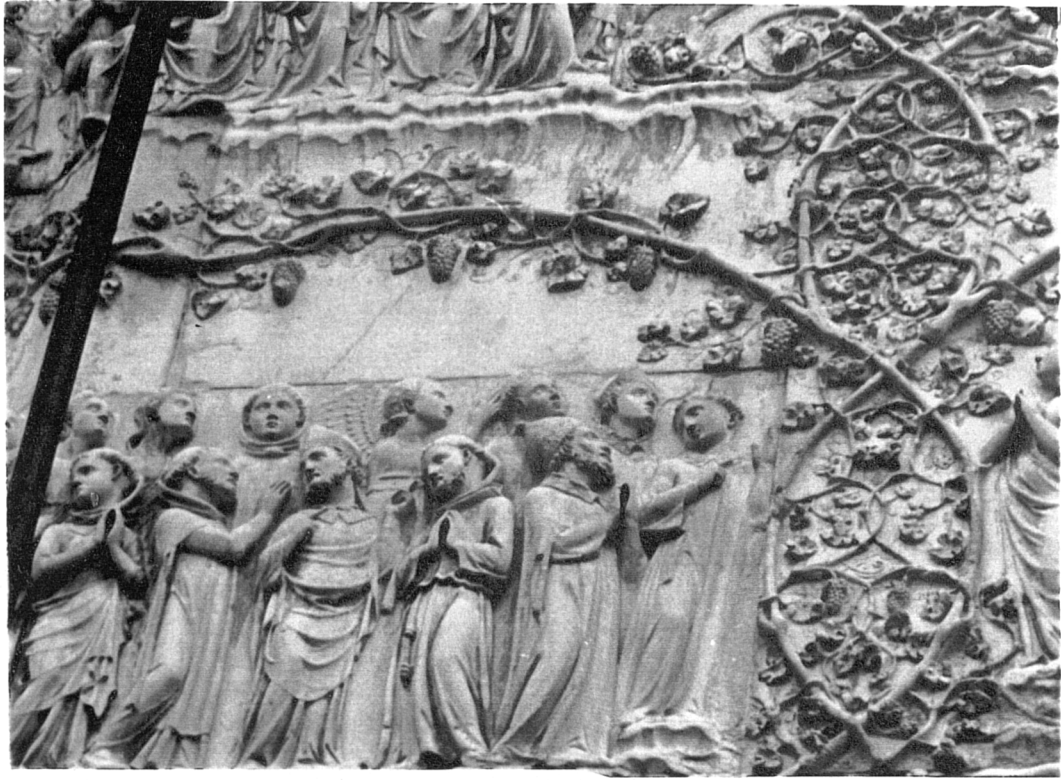
IV.21 Orvieto, Cathedral, Detail of IV.20, Damned



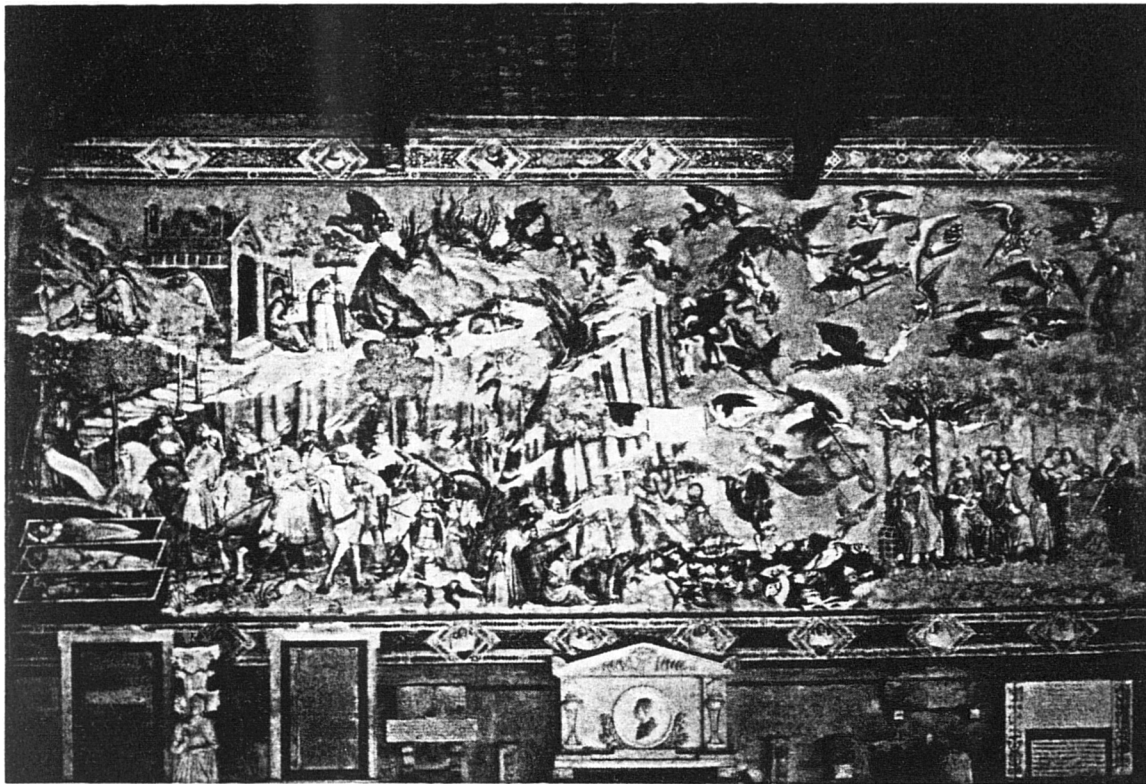
IV.22 Florence, Galleria Accademia, Pacino di Buonaguida, Panel,
Tree of Life



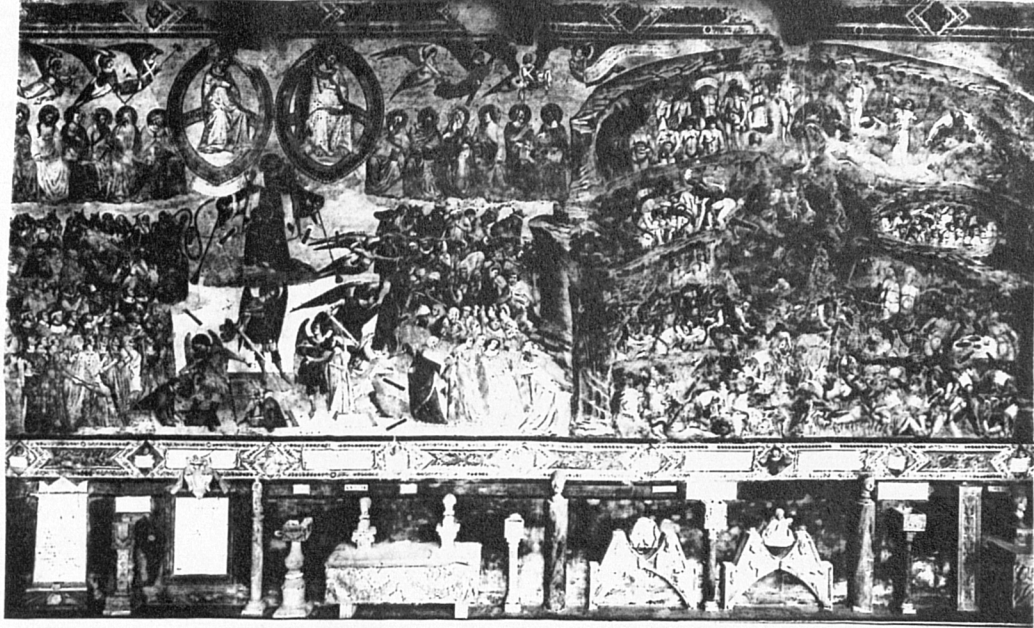
IV.23 Florence, Galleria Accademia, Detail of IV.22, Last Judgement



IV.24 Orvieto, Cathedral, Detail of IV.20, Bishop between St Dominic and St Francis



V.1 Pisa, Campo Santo, Triumph of Death



V.2 Pisa, Campo Santo, Last Judgement and Inferno



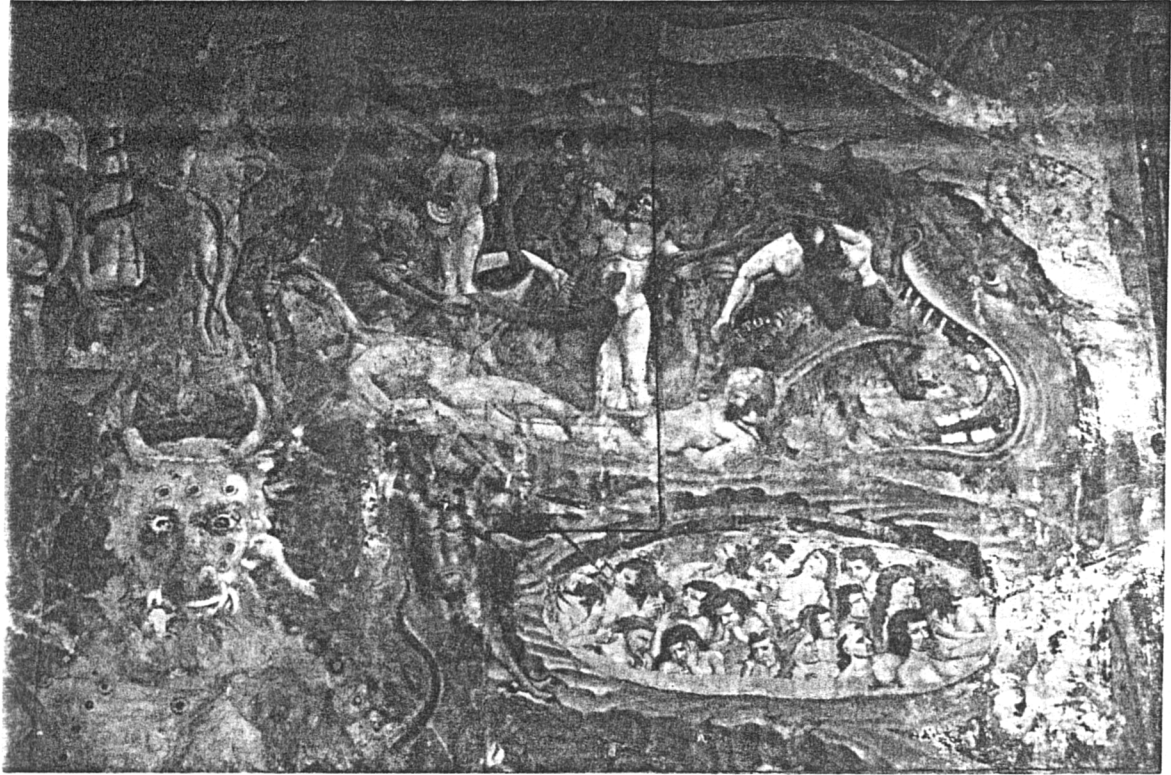
V.3 Pisa, Campo Santo, Detail of V.1, Three Living and Three Dead



V.4 Pisa, Campo Santo, Detail of V.1, Orange Grove



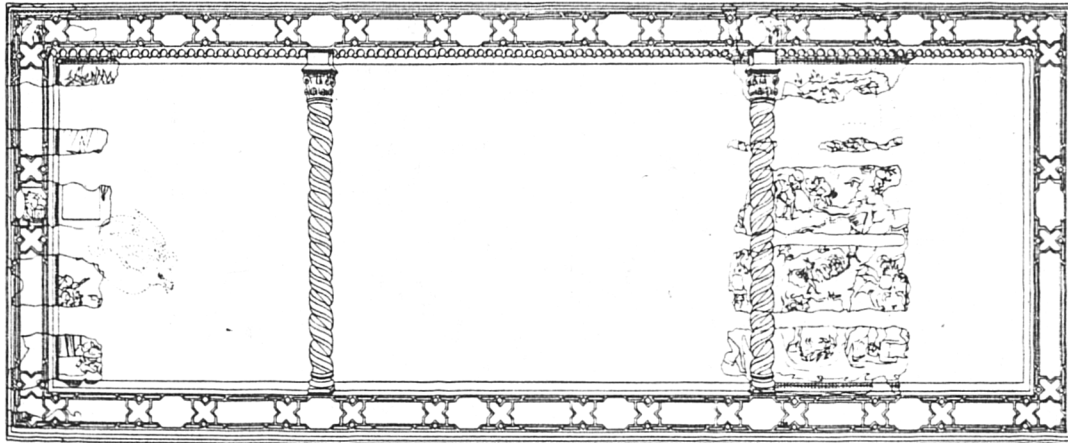
V.5 Pisa, Campo Santo, Inferno



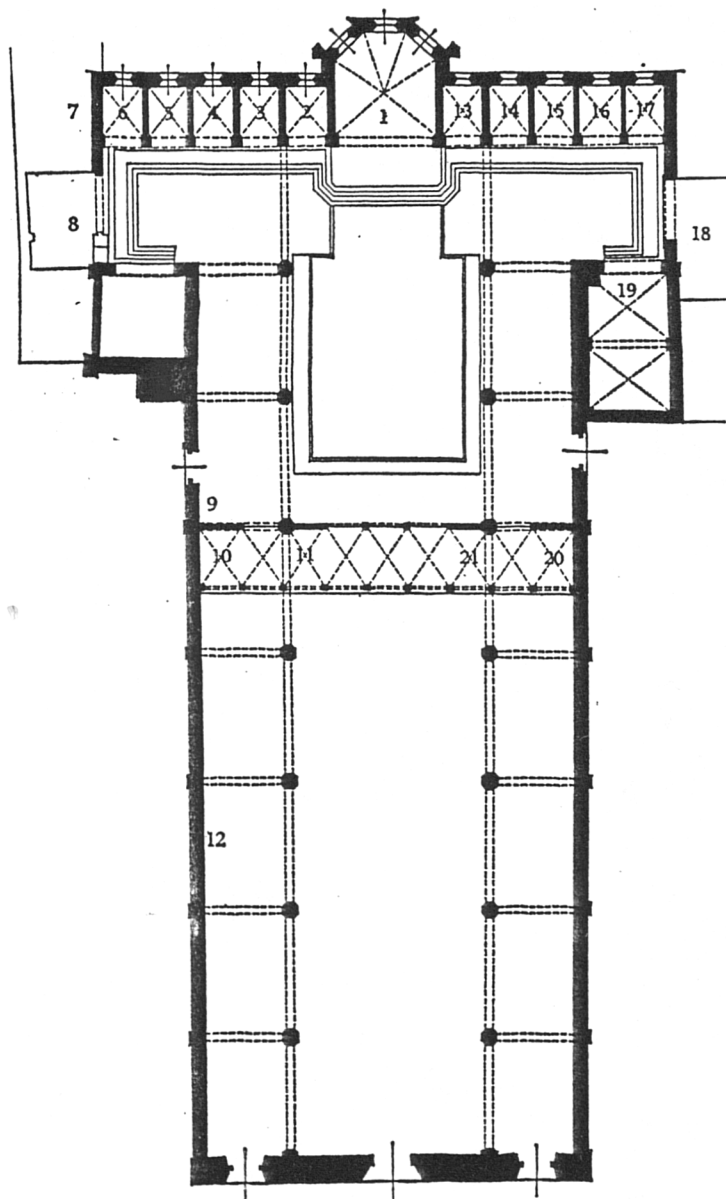
V.6 Pisa, Campo Santo, Detail of V.5



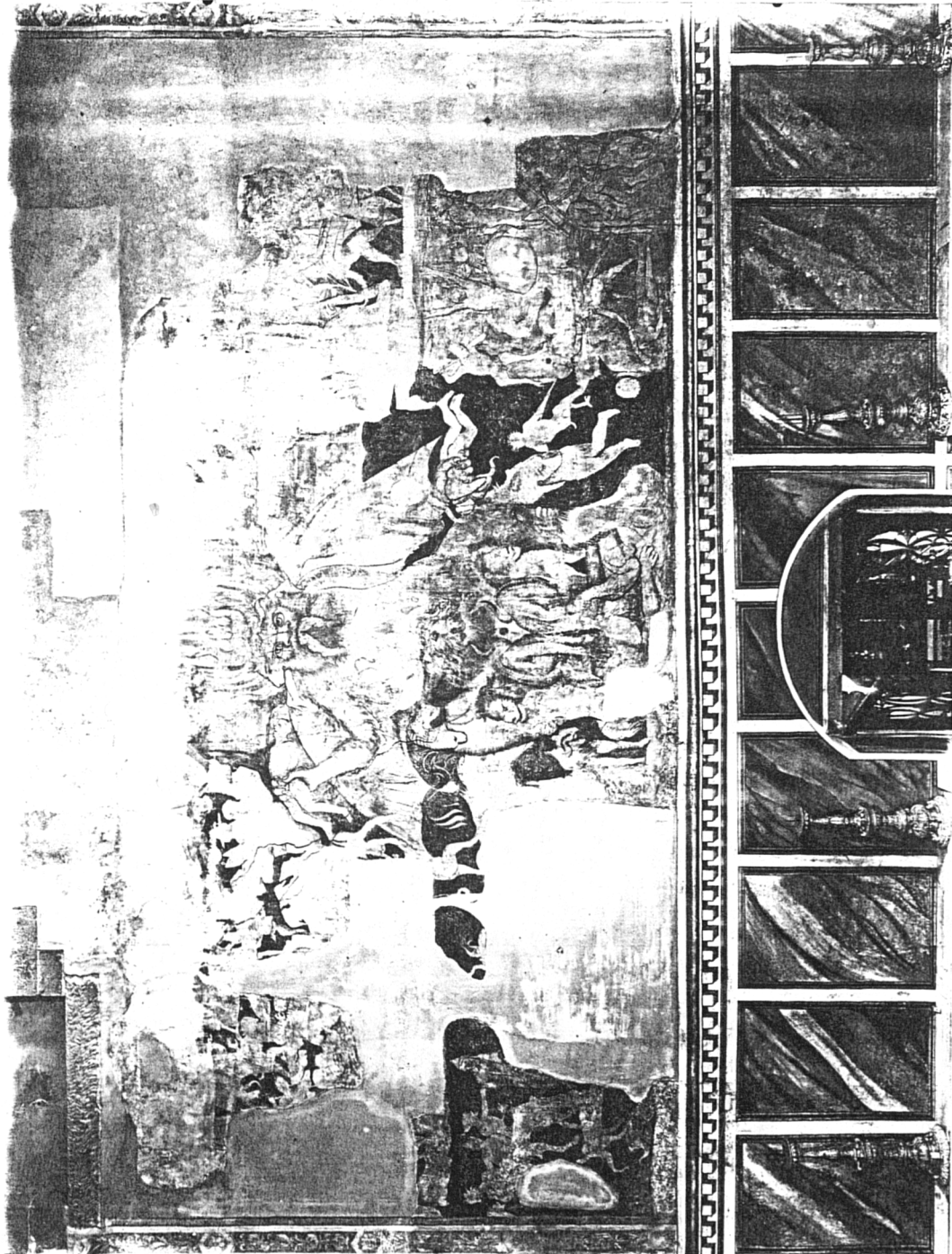
V.7 Pisa, Campo Santo, Last Judgement



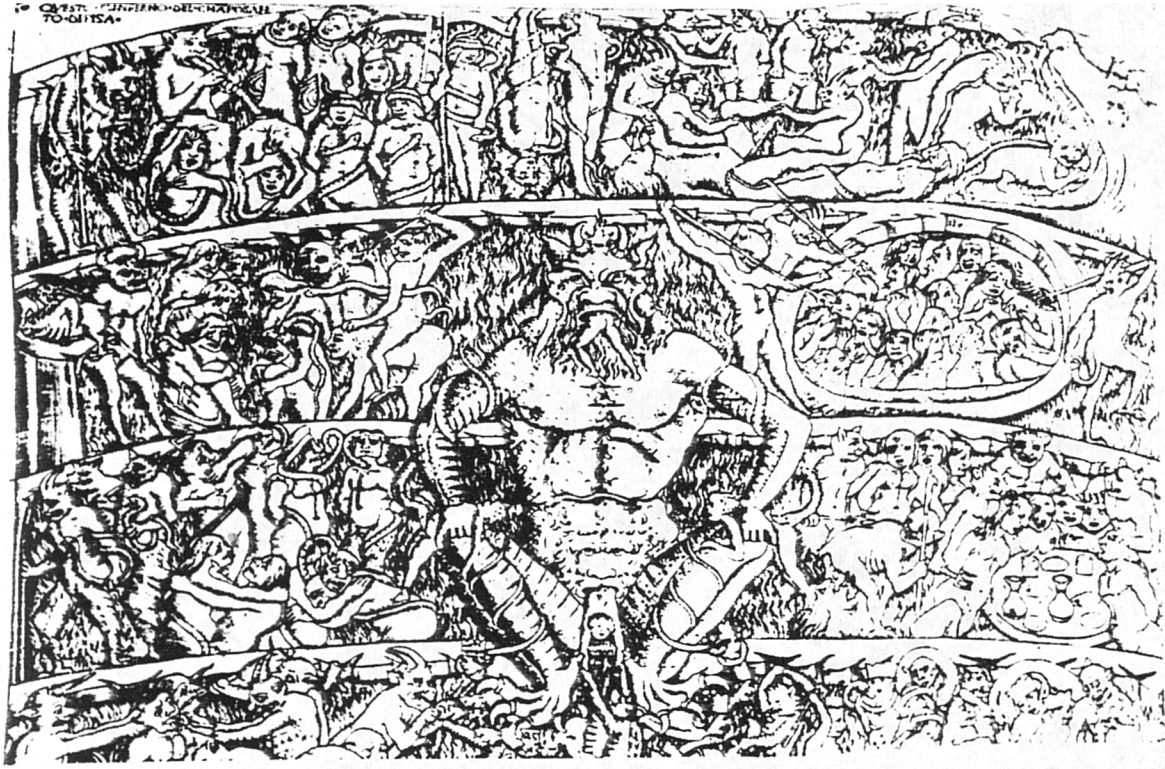
V.8 Florence, S.Croce, Reconstruction of Triumph of Death Cycle
(after Offner)



V.9 Florence, S.Croce, Ground Plan (after Hall)



V.10 Florence, Bargello, Magdalen Chapel, Detail of IV.9



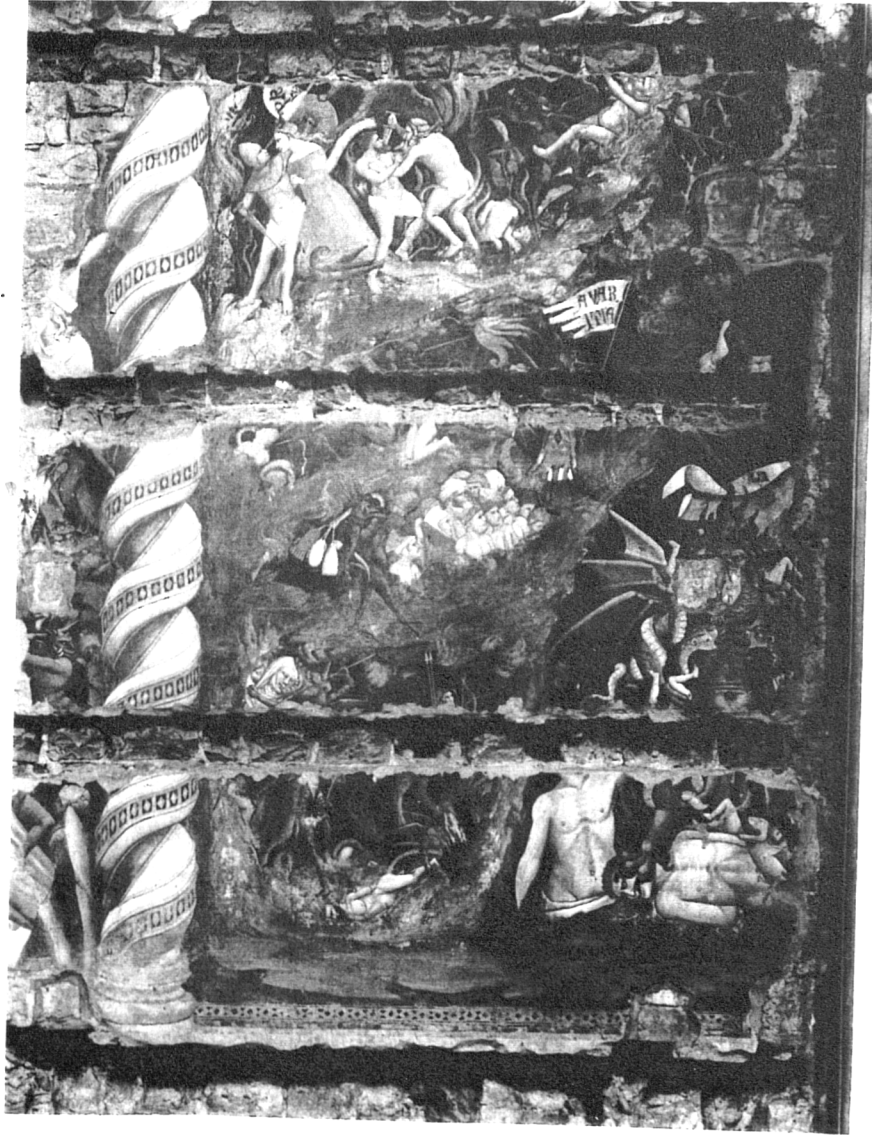
V.11 Pisa, Campo Santo, 15th-Century Engraving of Inferno



V.12 Florence, S.Croce, Orcagna, Fragment of Triumph of Death,
the Infirm



V.13 Pisa, Campo Santo, Detail of V.4, the Infirm



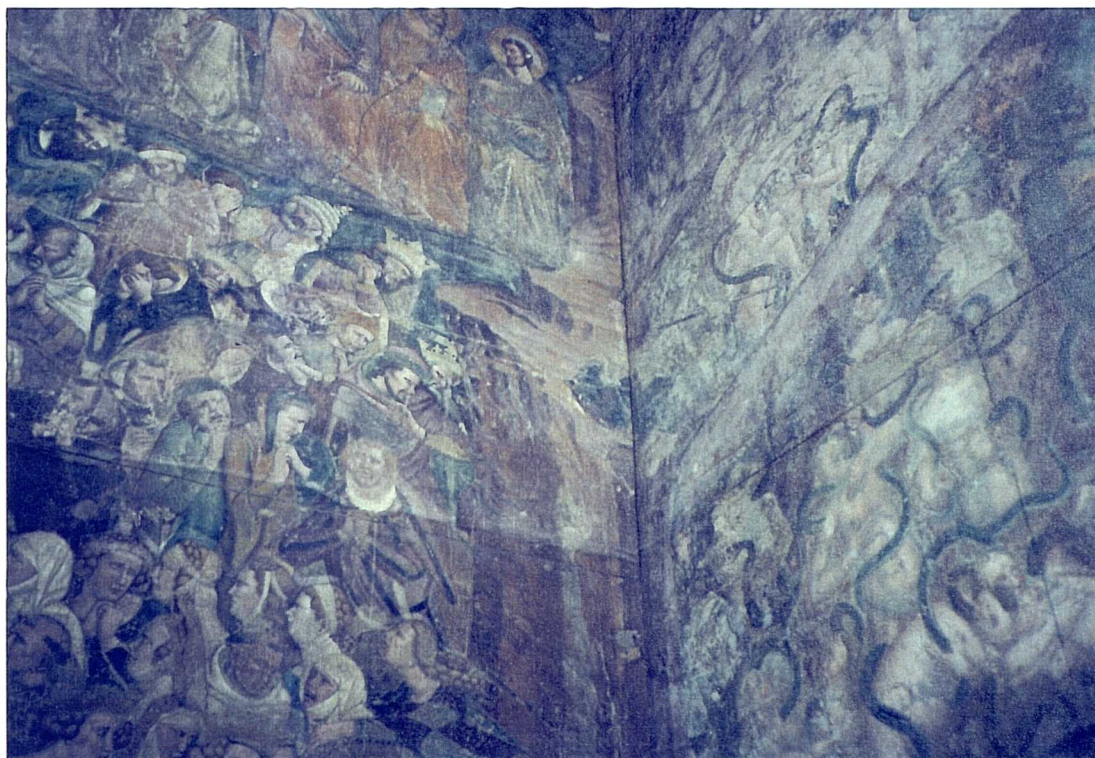
V.14 Florence, S.Croce, Orcagna, Fragment of Inferno



V.15 Florence, S.Croce, Orcagna, Fragment of Last Judgement



V.16 Florence, S.Croce, Orcagna, Detail of V.15



V.17 Pisa, Campo Santo, Triumph of Death Cycle, Corner of Present Installation of Frescoes, Demon on the Ledge



V.18 Pisa, Museo delle Sinopie, Last Judgement Sinopia, Demon and Entrance Crevice to Inferno